JOSIAH STRONG AND THE CHALLENGE OF THE CITY

By

osalie
Dorothea R. Muller

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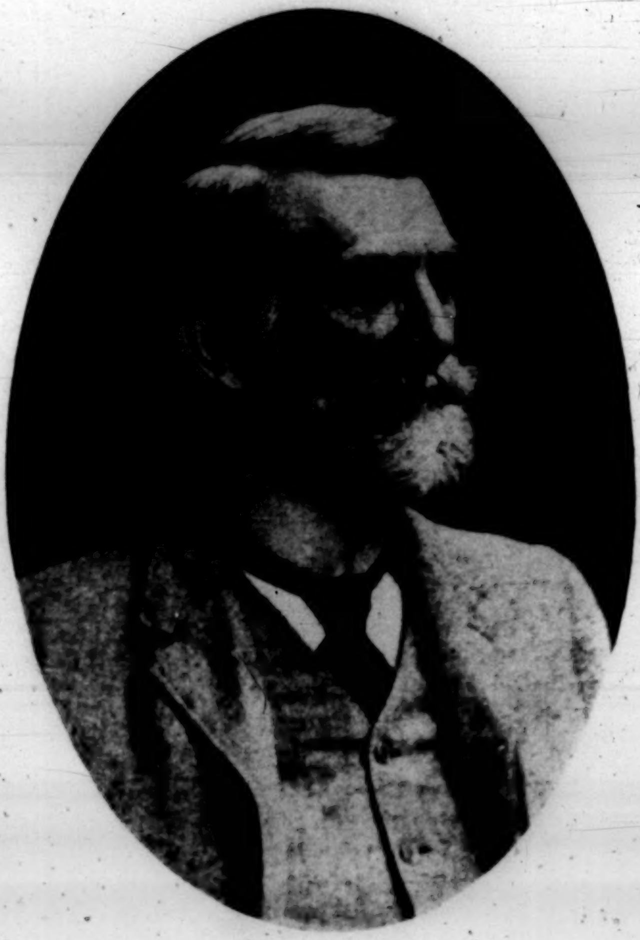
Approved

Bayrd Still
Research Adviser



Josiah Strong

PREFACE

Although Josiah Strong is most often cited for the use of his writing as a rationalization for American imperialism, he ought more properly to be remembered for his untiring zeal and devotion during the years 1871 to 1916 in attempting to arouse the church and the nation to an acceptance of their social responsibilities, national and international. His influence as a pioneer in awakening the church to social Christianity and to its obligation and opportunity to influence the institutions of the twentieth-century city was recognized by such social gospel leaders as Washington Gladden, Walter Rauschenbusch, Graham Taylor, Henry C. King and Lyman Abbott, among others. Strong was, indeed, one of the key figures in helping American society adjust to the urban revolution that was occurring on the turn of the twentieth century. Strong's social Christianity was focused on the city, because he believed that the city was to condition the social pattern of the twentieth century, and because he believed that since the city was such an integral part of modern society, it must be "saved" before the "Kingdom of God" could be realized on earth. Strong made his contribution in the religious realm, but it was a contribution which affected urban society generally. His writings and activities, particularly in connection with the work of his own organizations, the League for Social Service and the American Institute of Social Service, were significant in making articulate many of the aspirations of the progressivism of his day.

No complete work on the life and thought of Josiah Strong has ever been published. Although the present study does not presume to be definitive, it represents an attempt to present as a whole Strong's thought and activities, with particular emphasis on his views regarding the city, in the belief that only through such a comprehensive analysis can an understanding of the true meaning of any one of his concepts be achieved. If any groups used his writings to justify the domination of weaker peoples, it is because they did not grasp the meaning of his "Kingdom" philosophy and its world-view, which taught unselfish world-obligations and duties. Moreover, the customary criticisms of social gospel leaders in general--for their alleged tendency to ignore personal sin, their emphasis on social duties apart from motive, their idealistic utopianism and political naïvete--are seen to be inapplicable with reference to Strong, when his writings and activities are viewed in their entirety.

I am much indebted to Josiah Strong's daughters, the Misses Elsie and Margery Strong, for having made available various manuscript materials in their collection and for their readiness to help. I am especially grateful to Miss Elsie Strong for conversations about her father's work and personal life which

provided invaluable insight into the activities and personality of her father. Acknowledgment is also made to the staffs of the libraries at Union Theological Seminary and at the National Council of the Churches of Christ in America for their ready cooperation. The stimulating lectures and discussions of Professor Robert T. Handy at Union Theological Seminary contributed greatly to my understanding of the historical significance of social Christianity. Appreciation is also expressed to the Reverend John Haynes Holmes whose comments on the character and thought of Josiah Strong were helpful. I am grateful to New York University for its assistance through fellowships, without which I would have been unable to devote my time to this study. And I wish to express my deep gratitude particularly to Professor Bayrd Still for his continued interest, suggestions, help and understanding.

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Challenge of City	Josiah Strong, The Challenge of the City (New York, 1907).
Expansion	Josiah Strong, Expansion Under New World-Conditions (New York, 1900).
My Religion	Josiah Strong, My Religion in Everyday Life (New York, 1910).
New Era	Josiah Strong, The New Era or The Coming Kingdom (New York, 1893).
Next Great Awakening	Josiah Strong, The Next Great Awakening (New York, 1902).
Our Country	Josiah Strong, Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis (New York, 1885).
Times and Men	Josiah Strong, The Times and Young Men (New York, 1901).
20C City	Josiah Strong, The Twentieth Century City (New York, 1898).
World-Life	Josiah Strong, Our World. The New World-Life (New York, 1913).
World-Religion	Josiah Strong, Our World. The New World-Religion (New York, 1915).

Note: Style for referring to issues of The Gospel of the Kingdom is Gos. of K., volume, page, date.

Style for referring to issues of Social Service. A Monthly Review of Social and Industrial Betterment is S.S., volume, page, date.

INTRODUCTION

> Since its birth this society has looked out on a new continent whose future has hung in a "hesitating balance" on the frontier. To-day we look out on a new world whose frontier is the city on which balances a world destiny.
>
> The fathers found inspiration to sacrifice in the statesmanlike work of making a nation. We find ours in the Godlike work of shaping a world.[1]

The period from 1870 to 1915 was one of profound change in American life. A rapidly advancing industrial and scientific revolution altered man's ideas and environment and brought with it a new civilization and new problems. To many social thinkers, the city appeared to be the focus of the new order-- a subject, therefore, demanding particular attention. Some called for a scientific study of the new society--Edward A. Ross, Albert Shaw, Richard T. Ely, Graham Taylor; some urged the establishment of

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[1] Josiah Strong, Our Opportunity in the City (New York, 1906), 23, a pamphlet in a miscellaneous collection provided by Elsie Strong in the author's possession and referred to hereafter as the E. Strong Collection.

social settlements--Jane Addams, Robert A. Woods; some championed civic reforms--Theodore Roosevelt, Jacob A. Riis, Charles H. Parkhurst; some saw an answer in more welfare agencies--Charles L. Brace; some devised new religious techniques--General Ballington Booth, Charles L. Thompson; some favored socialistic approaches--George D. Herron, William D.P. Bliss; some preached the social gospel--Washington Gladden, Walter Rauschenbusch, Frank M. North, Lyman Abbott. An associate and personal friend of all these reformers was Josiah Strong--clergyman, reformer and prophet of the twentieth-century city.

On the occasion of memorial services for Strong in May, 1916, addresses were made by the Reverend Charles Stelzle, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, General Ballington Booth and Mornay Williams, and letters were read from Graham Taylor, Lyman Abbott, Henry Churchill King, Walter Rauschenbusch, Washington Gladden, Edward A. Ross, S. Parkes Cadman, Robert A. Woods and Owen R. Lovejoy. All paid tribute to Strong as a pioneer in the movement to awaken the conscience of the church and the nation to the social obligations imposed by the new order and many acknowledged the influence upon them of his message. Edward A. Ross wrote, "I doubt if one could name four men of our time who have so stamped their thought upon the religious people of this country. He saw the goal clearer than anybody else and he had the inspiration to make people press toward it." Robert A. Woods stated, "His career has been remarkable in its steady consecutive continuity and cumulative power. The influence that has come out of his teaching and example is one of the important assets of our national life." Washington Gladden wrote:

> His was one of the convincing voices, one of the most persuasive voices. He saw the truth clearly and he had wonderful power to make it plain to others. As an interpreter of the things of the Kingdom we have not had many like him.
>
> I wish I might be present at the Tabernacle service to confess the debt I owe to him for the clearing of my own vision, the deepening of my conviction, and the confirmation of my purpose.
>
> I am sorry that I shall not hear his voice again, but I shall try to remember what I have heard.[2]

Born in Naperville, Illinois, on January 19, 1847, Josiah Strong spent his boyhood in Hudson, Ohio, the site of Western Reserve College. His family, descendants of Elder John Strong who had come from England to Massachusetts in 1630, represented the New England Puritan stock that by two centuries later had been transplanted to Ohio. The family atmosphere which surrounded Strong as a young boy was one alive with a love of God and an appreciation of education and the arts. Strong's grandfather, who died when the boy was thirteen, was a strict New England Congregationalist, who read in his Greek Testament every day. Strong's mother and father also had firm religious convictions and were deeply concerned for their children's education. He was a frail child, but he, nevertheless, had to work to help meet the financial burdens of the family. He attended Western Reserve College on a scholarship and was graduated in 1869. Although Strong had a great capacity for human enjoyment--finding pleasure in playing baseball, skating, swimming, playing the flute in the college orchestra, and singing college songs, it was, perhaps, his fundamentally serious nature and the character of his family tradition and environment which led him naturally to seek a life in the service of God. His natural ability at sketching did prompt him to think of devoting his life to art, but his partial color-blindness dissuaded him from doing this. There is no record of his decision to enter the ministry, and, perhaps, he never seriously considered doing otherwise.

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[2] Washington Gladden to Howard Strong, May 3, 1916, in E. Strong Collection; see also Washington Gladden, "Josiah Strong," The Congregationalist and Christian World, 101:628 (May 11/16). Gladden wrote that Strong had been at the Council that had installed Gladden in Ohio and that from that time on they had been good friends. He wrote, "It has been a good comradeship; for me it has meant much; how greatly I have been indebted to him for quickening suggestions, for enlarging vision, for illuminating interpretation of the meaning of life I shall never know."; see also Graham Taylor to Howard Strong, May 3/16; Henry C. King to Howard Strong, May 3/16; Walter Rauschenbusch to Howard Strong, May 5/16; Edward A. Ross to Howard Strong, May 5/16; S. Parkes Cadman to Howard Strong, May 3/16. Cadman stated, "I would like to say that Dr. Strong has had a great and persuasive influence upon my life and upon the lives of those I have been permitted to minister to."; Robert A. Woods to Howard Strong, May 3/16; Lyman Abbott to Howard Strong, May 3/16; excerpt from a letter by Owen R. Lovejoy to Josiah Strong written shortly before Strong's death in which Lovejoy acknowledged the influence of Strong upon many who were then in social service and stated that "the activities you have helped set on foot are measured by their present usefulness only by the devotion and skill of those you have inspired." All the letters cited are in the E. Strong Collection.

Strong prepared for the ministry at Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, considered at that time among the most liberal institutions in the country. Because of poor health, he could not finish his seminary course, however, and after two years of study was ordained a Congregational minister in September, 1871, at the age of twenty-four. In later years, Strong expressed his gratitude for the curtailment of his studies, asserting that the very fact that he had not studied systematic theology had given him the opportunity to build a theology of his own. In 1886, he received the degree of doctor of divinity from Western Reserve University and later the degree of doctor of laws from Alfred University. Strong began his life work as a home missionary in Cheyenne, Wyoming, in the fall of 1871. He ministered to a little church of thirteen members. Here he had to meet the competition of the saloon, the gambling hall, and "the disreputable houses" that dominated this reckless frontier town. Strong was convinced that the teachings of Jesus had to be applied to the social evils in the existing environment if those teachings were to have any meaning; and he applied himself in a forthright fashion to correcting some of the evils of the community, in spite of opposition. His experiences in Cheyenne undoubtedly influenced and directed his later thought and work. Two years later he was recalled to Western Reserve College as chaplain and instructor in rhetoric and natural theology. When the college church was united with that of the village, his services as chaplain were no longer required, and he accepted the call of the First Congregational Church at Sandusky, Ohio, in 1876.[3]

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[3] Material from conversations with Elsie Strong, Tryon, North Carolina, April, 1955; The Gospel of the Kingdom, 8:97 (July '16). This series will hereafter be cited as Gos. of K.

During the years of his pastorate at Sandusky, Strong became increasingly conscious of the changing conditions of the United States, and, after five years at this church, accepted the secretaryship of the Ohio Home Missionary Society "in order to avail himself of the special facilities which the office would afford for the study of the great home missionary problem in all its aspects."[4] While secretary of the Home Missionary Society, from 1881 to 1884, Strong collected much of the material and formulated many of the views which were to appear in his epoch-making book, Our Country, first published in 1885. For example, he wrote in November, 1884, in an article in The Home Missionary:

> Great cities are the peril of the nation. . . . In our cities meet the tempting luxury, provoking wretchedness, and the Godless masses, familiar with crime and restrained only by fear; and toward great cities our population is resistlessly tending. Thus is our civilization focalizing the elements of anarchy and destruction, and already is popular government a failure in our great cities. . . . And with Cincinnati a New York, and New York a London, what will our failure be, unless the Christless masses of our cities are Christianized?[5]

Once again the attractions of the ministry prevailed and

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[4] Gos. of K., 8:97 (July'16); see also on degrees, Congregational Year Book, 1916, 494; Gos. of K., 5:129 (Sept.'13), Strong was referred to as LL.D.

[5] Strong, "A Word with Ohio Congregationalists," The Home Missionary, 58:274-275 (Nov.'84); also see 57th Annual Report of the American Home Missionary Society, 1883, 80. Strong wrote of conditions in a town on Lake Erie where before 1882 there had been thirty saloons and no minister, then a Congregationalist Church was established; also 58th Annual Report, 1884, 30-1.

Strong left his work with the home missionary society for a pastorate in the Vine Street Church of Cincinnati. He was installed as pastor with a congregation of about 350 members in February, 1885.[6] It was while serving this church in Cincinnati, which was later called the Central Congregational Church of Cincinnati, that Strong found his life's philosophy in terms of the social interpretation of Christianity and came to see the city as the supreme challenge of his time to the church, to Christianity and to civilization.

During the period of Strong's pastorate at the Vine Street Church, his views on social Christianity became completely crystallized. According to his own testimony, he had awakened as a youth of thirteen to the realization of the complete renunciation of self as the essence of religion, but during the next twenty-five years he had struggled without success to give his life meaning in terms of the individualistic interpretation of Christianity in which he had been schooled. In these years, from 1860 to 1885, he had been in "bondage" to a "dualistic theory of life," which comprehended both the salvation of souls and also "a thousand things in life" which so far as he could see "sustained no relation to soul saving." Thus music, art sports, of which he was fond, he looked upon "with a suspicious eye, lest they become snares of the devil."[7] Strong's

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6. M. E. Thalheimer, "History of the Vine Street Congregational Church of Cincinnati," Papers of the Ohio History Society, 9:55 (1898).

7. Josiah Strong, My Religion in Everyday Life (New York, 1910), 16-19, 26, 32. This work will hereafter be cited as My Religion.

dissatisfaction with the individualistic interpretation of Christianity in terms of his own life was reinforced by his awareness of the nature of the industrial and social revolution he saw evolving about him and by the challenge of the scientific method to the basis of orthodox theology which, he wrote, caused him to see that "the old individualistic interpretation of Christianity was more out of joint than ever."[8] He found the social interpretation of Christianity and the re-discovery of the Kingdom of God to be "the great organizing principle, bringing order out of chaos, solving not only the great social problems of the new civilization, but also the problems of the individual as well, and destroying the accepted distinction between the 'sacred' and the 'secular,' thus eliminating the old dualism and making religion inclusive of the entire life."[9]

In Strong's opinion, Jesus had taught the "Kingdom of God" as not only a heavenly Kingdom, but also an earthly social ideal. As a result of the re-discovery of the true meaning of the Kingdom, the teachings of Jesus were seen to have particular meaning not only for the relations of man and God but also for the relations of man to his fellow man. Strong believed that the meaning of the Kingdom as a social ideal and the significance of Jesus' teachings as principles of love, service and sacrifice to govern man's social relations had been neglected

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8. Ibid., 33.

9. Ibid., 37.

in Christian teaching. He believed that they needed reaffirmation to make the message of Jesus complete. The improved conditions of society and the solution of its existing problems became of essential importance to the realization of the Kingdom. Strong wrote that "Everything that concerns humanity concerns me because it concerns the Kingdom of God."[10] Strong's religious faith, of which a vital principle was that of a loving and immanent God, gave him throughout his life the assurance, as he said, that he was "right where God wanted me to be, and doing just the work He wanted me to do."[11] Believing that he was, and that all men could and should be, a co-laborer with God for the hastening of the Kingdom, Strong found his daily work a joy. He wrote:

> many, many times I go to it [work] with a sense of elation, the same lightness of heart and of foot that I felt as a boy when going a fishing, or nutting, or skating, and wanted to hunt up fences to jump over.[12]

He explained his religion as "a philosophy of life that works, it kindles my hope, it feeds my enthusiasm. It makes my life a joy, so that I have much to live for and more to die for. But heaven will keep, and I am willing to wait as long as I can help bring heaven to earth."[13]

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[10] My Religion, 57.

[11] Ibid., 49.

[12] Ibid., 59-60.

[13] Ibid., 61.

It was while he was pastor of the Vine Street Church, during 1885 and 1886, that Strong came to the conclusion that the problems presented by city living were the greatest obstacle to be overcome in winning civilization for Christ. This prompted him to direct his efforts to the solution of the city problem. He pointed out the perils of the modern city in Our Country, which, at the request of the Home Missionary Society, he had been working on since 1884 and of which he completed the manuscript by the summer of 1885. Here he declared that all the evils of the new civilization--intemperance, the liquor power, corruption, socialism, the concentration of wealth, materialism, immigration, Romanism, Mormonism--were enhanced and focalized in the city.[14] If the "kingdom" were to be realized on earth, cities must be reformed, and where better to start but in the West, still in a formative state, but a region which would ultimately control the nation. The West, he wrote, would eventually become a section of great cities, dominate the East and thus hold the key to the nation's future. To save the West from the evils implicit in city life, the church must immediately implant the Gospel in the West, whose influence for good or ill would be determined during the period from 1885 to 1900.[15] Home missions, for which Strong's book was seeking support, were to be the means by which the society and future cities of the West were to be Christianized, thus "saving" the United States and fulfilling its world mission of hastening the Kingdom, of "saving" the world.[16] Our Country won Strong wide acclaim from both clergy and laymen throughout the country and brought him to national prominence. By 1916 it had been translated into a number of European languages and had a circulation in English alone of 176,000.[17]

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[14] Josiah Strong, Our Country: Its Possible Future And Its Present Crisis (New York, edition published by the American Home Missionary Society, 1885), chapter 10. This work will hereafter be referred to as Our Country. According to Strong's daughter, Elsie Strong, Our Country originated from a commission from the Home Missionary Society to revise a Home Missionary pamphlet. In the revision of the pamphlet, however, the new material added by Strong, especially the chapter on "Money and the Kingdom," made the volume his own work; see also John Haynes Holmes, "Josiah Strong," Dictionary of American Biography, 18:150.

Characteristically, Strong was not content solely to write of the peril of the city, but he took active steps to set into motion plans for solving its problems. In December, 1885, he called an interdenominational congress to meet in his church to arouse the public to the significance of the city and to discuss city evangelization and the problems relating to life in the city. In the call for the Congress, the city was referred to as "a menace to our civilization" and the place

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15. Our Country, 149. Strong added the qualifying term "beyond a peradventure"; on evils of the city, 30.

16. Ibid., 138, 152, 158, 179-80.

17. Gos. of K., 8:97 (July'16). Since he had received a salary from the Home Missionary Society when he wrote Our Country, Strong did not receive any of the royalties accruing from the sale of the 1885 edition, all returns going to the society. He did, however, receive some money for the 1891 edition of the volume.

where the "forces of evil are massed" and the moral and Christian forces are weakest. Washington Gladden commented in later years that this conclave "was a meeting of no little importance; it brought together a good many strong men from the various communions."[18] Among the advocates of social Christianity who came to the meeting were Washington Gladden, Lyman Abbott, Richard T. Ely, and Amory H. Bradford.

Issues discussed at this five-day session were the problem of the city itself, that of reaching the immigrant population, the alienation of the working class, socialism and church methods in cities. Strong suggested that a religious census showing church attendance and the relation of working men and foreigners to the churches be taken in as many cities as possible, as a means of giving churchmen "a grip upon this tremendous problem of the city and its evangelization."[19] In Strong's address of welcome to the Congress, he re-stated the theme of *Our Country*, namely, the urgent need of making the Gospel effective in the city in order to combat the evil forces at work in a rapidly urbanizing society. He warned that conditions were arising in the cities which foretold "a reign of terror that would beggar the scenes of the French Revolution." The only solution, he declared, was the evangelization of the city, and the time in which to do it was "all too short." The importance of the Congress, he thought, was that, in discussing the city problem, it was seeking the solution of "mighty problems" that concerned "the Kingdom of Christ . . . the perpetuity of our free institutions . . . the continued existence of society itself." "Our cities are the tainted spots of our civilization, . . . the ulcers upon our body politic," he wrote, "Where is the healing salve of moral and Christian influence?"[20]

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[18] Gladden, "Josiah Strong," *The Congregationalist and Christian World*, 101:628 (May 11/16); see also "The Christian Conference at Cincinnati," *Advance*, 20:818-19 (Dec. 17/85). The article comments that attendance was good and interest grew with each session; Charles Howard Hopkins, *The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865-1915* (New Haven, 1940), 113. This work will be cited hereafter as Hopkins, *Rise of Social Gospel*; see also *Christian Union*, December 17, 1888, 6-8.

[19] *Discussions of the Inter-Denominational Congress in the Interest of City Evangelization, Held in Cincinnati, December 7-11, 1885* (Cincinnati, 1886), 28-9. This volume is in the E. Strong Collection.

Such attitudes and activities as this--and, more importantly, the reception of Our Country had brought Strong to the attention of the nation. The Evangelical Alliance for the United States, which since its founding in 1867 had been nominally interested in problems of Christian union, of fighting free-thought and Roman Catholicism, had resolved in April, 1886, to direct its efforts to rousing the church to its social mission. Believing that Josiah Strong was the man who could best accomplish their "enlarged and aggressive work," the Alliance elected him General Secretary in the fall of 1886.[21] Strong, who had found enjoyment and stimulation in parish work and problems, resigned his position at the Vine Street Church in November, 1886, with much regret, but, as in all his decisions regarding his work, with firm belief that God had willed, prepared and called him for precisely that task. The acceptance of this position was to mark the beginning of Josiah Strong's thirty years of national leadership in efforts to meet the challenge of the city.

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[20] Strong, "Address of Welcome," Discussions of the Inter-Denominational Congress, 62.

[21] For general information on the Evangelical Alliance for the United States, see Aaron Ignatius Abell, The Urban Impact on American Protestantism, 1865-1900 (Cambridge, 1943), 16, 90-1. This work will be cited hereafter as Abell, Urban Impact.

CHAPTER ONE

Strong and the Evangelical Alliance for the United States

Josiah Strong came to work as General Secretary of the Evangelical Alliance for the United States believing that the greatest need of his generation and of the church was a recognition of the social problems of the new industrial America and of the relation of the church to these problems. He also believed that it was imperative that the church find efficient methods of applying its doctrine to these social problems. The Evangelical Alliance for the United States was an interdenominational group of churchmen which had directed its efforts since its founding in 1867 primarily toward fighting the "free thought" movement and Roman Catholicism at home and persecutions of Christians abroad. It resolved in the fall of 1885 and again in the spring of 1886 "to enter upon an enlarged and aggressive work under the Constitution of the Alliance." A permanent executive secretary was to be secured who would devote all his time to the expanded work of the Alliance. It was hoped that, through the services of a General Secretary, the Alliance would be able to exert an influence more powerful than ever upon the Christian community.[1]

The "enlarged and aggressive work" of the Alliance was to be an attempt to rouse the churches to their social mission. At a meeting of the Executive Committee on October 22, 1886, it was decided to ask Josiah Strong to assume the office of General Secretary. The President and Secretary of the Board of Managers were instructed on October 29 to convey the invitation to Strong, making clear their sincere belief that "the position can be made equal in influence and usefulness to any other in the country." The Advance for November 11, 1886, noted that Dr. Strong had resigned his pastorship of the Central Church in Cincinnati to accept the position. On December 27, Strong was introduced to the Board of Managers at a meeting held for his reception as well as for the presentation of the new plans for the enlarged work of the Alliance, which by that date he had already prepared.[2]

Enthusiastic comment by the religious press followed Dr. Strong's appointment. The Pittsburgh Presbyterian Banner thought the Alliance had acted "most wisely" in appointing Dr. Strong, whose qualifications for the position it considered "undoubted." The Religious Herald of Hartford stated that Strong's appointment seemed to "meet with the hearty approval of all denominations." Zion's Herald, The Golden Rule, and The Illustrated Weekly likewise praised both the appointment of Strong and the new program of the Alliance.[3] References were also made to the book on which his reputation was laregly based. It was as author of Our Country, that "extraordinary little volume," that "remarkable treatise," that the newspapers referred him to their readers. Charles MacFarland, long associated with the National Council of Churches, declared that Strong's coming to the Alliance as General Secretary "marked the widening of the scope of the Evangelical Alliance to include social service."[4] President William E. Dodge and others of the Alliance were "in full sympathy with the clarion voice that had found a nation-wide

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[1] Minutes of the Evangelical Alliance for the United States, Vol. 3: April, 1886, 16, bound manuscript volumes, Union Theological Seminary Library. These volumes will hereafter be cited as Min.; Annual Report of the Evangelical Alliance for the United States, Document Twenty-one, June, 1886, 8, 10; see also a report of the reception given by William E. Dodge Jr., President of the Evangelical Alliance, for members and friends of the Alliance to discuss its new plans in Observer, April 15/86 in Scrapbook, Vol. 5, Union Theological Seminary Library.

[2] Min., Vol. 3:43, 49, 50-51; Advance, 21:Nov. 11/86.

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3. Presbyterian Banner, March 9/87, Religious Herald, March 17/87, Zion's Herald, March 9/87, Golden Rule, March 24/87, Illustrated Weekly, March 26/87. All clippings are in Scrapbook, Vol. 5.

4. Charles MacFarland, Christian Unity in the Making. The First Twenty-five Years of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, 1905-1930 (New York, 1948), 22. This work will hereafter be cited as MacFarland, Christian Unity; see also Elias B. Sanford, History of the Evangelical Alliance, 78, National Council of the Churches of Christ in America Library. This work will hereafter be cited as Sanford, Hist. of Alliance; see statement by the Reverend J. Henry Scharpe that the appointment of Strong was a "new departure of the Evangelical Alliance" in Presbyterian Observer, Philadelphia, Dec. 17/87 in Scrapbook, Vol. 5.

hearing through the pages of 'Our Country'."[5] Writing shortly after his appointment to members of the Executive Committee, Strong enthusiastically stated that the Alliance "must represent organized Protestantism in the United States."[6] One month after coming to the Alliance, at a salary of $5,000 a year, Strong was given an opportunity to present his views and methods for their practical application. On December 3, 1886, he was instructed to prepare a statement of plans representing the "new departure" of the Alliance. These plans were unanimously approved by the Alliance and ordered to be sent out "with suitable modifications" as Document Twenty-two of the Alliance.[7] At the same time Strong was instructed to send out a circular letter to prominent men of the various denominations presenting an outline of the work proposed and asking for names of reliable men likely to be interested in the work of the Alliance. He was also to prepare a public announcement for the press, and an outline for local alliances.[8]

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5. Sanford, Hist. of Alliance, 79.

6. The statement was made in a note by Strong attached to the original Statement of Work Proposed in Scrapbook, Vol. 4, dated Dec. 21/86.

7. The report printed as Document Twenty-two and that originally presented in Min., Vol. 3:51-57 are essentially the same. The statements omitted were those suggesting the first steps to be taken by Strong in executing the plan, those commenting on the coming Washington Conference and those declaring that the Alliance must first educate public sentiment, then use it, eventually exerting a powerful influence over the press and legislation.

8. Min., Vol. 3:Dec. 27/86, 51; Dec. 30/86, 60-61.

Document Twenty-two, entitled Statement of Work Proposed by the Evangelical Alliance for the United States, was a clear presentation of the philosophy of Josiah Strong. In it he made reference to his belief in the existence of a crisis in the church and in the nation. He spoke of his confidence in the ability of the Gospel and of the unused strength of the church to meet the needs of the age. He contended that the spirit of cooperation, characterizing American life in the late nineteenth century, was lacking in the church. He suggested the cooperation of local churches, "federation at the bottom," as the means of reaching the unchurched masses in cities and of studying local social problems. He stressed the need of finding means of consolidating and expressing Christian public opinion. Positing the need for knowledge of facts to solve problems, he emphasized the need for a bureau of information. He asserted that it was the divinely ordained mission of his generation to save the nation and the civilization of the race.

Strong's over-all proposal was a plan of interdenominational church cooperation. He felt that a "tremendous crisis" existed in American national affairs, not only because the perils which threatened our Christian civilization were increasing more rapidly than the population, but also because the character of the West (whose need for evangelization was the theme of Our Country) would in his opinion be fixed for generations to come in the closing years of the century. A sense of crisis, yet balanced by a strong confidence and optimism that the forces of good, when aroused and organized, would overcome those of evil, was an essential part of Strong's thinking. The forces of good were latent in the Christian church. It possessed the Gospel, God's remedy for sin, sin being the root-evil of society. Optimism and faith in the sufficiency of the Gospel always remained part of Strong's philosophy. He saw his mission in the twelve years of his work for the Alliance, and in the days thereafter, in a two-fold light--that of arousing the popular conscience to the spiritual and moral needs of the time and of organizing that conscience for effective expression and action through interdenominational cooperation.

In Strong's opinion the basic weakness of the church in 1886 was its lack of organization. Yet rather than any organic union, he sought a unity of spirit, of purpose, on the part of individual Christians of all denominations, working within their denominations. Since public opinion on any moral question was controlled by Christian men, the Christians of the evangelical churches could "accomplish any needed reform," he declared, if only they were "aroused and united."[9] The Evangelical Alliance was to be the means through which cooperation could be effected. To arouse an indifferent Christianity, but more especially to unite it, Strong proposed a three-point program--setting up local alliances in cities and smaller towns, holding general conferences, and developing the Alliance into a bureau of information. The Board of Managers of the Alliance had suggested in October, 1886, before Strong came to the Alliance, that the Executive Committee, in order to meet the perils menacing the church and bring about the cooperation of denominations, should establish branch alliances, hold conventions if desirable, and issue the publications it deemed necessary.[10] To Josiah Strong goes the credit for elaborating and implementing these suggestions and directing their application.

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[9] Document XXII, Statement of Work Proposed, 2.

The national conferences, according to the Statement of Work Proposed, were to be gatherings of the "wisest and ablest speakers in the United States." Here "the application of new and more effective methods of Christian and reformatory work," which had been successfully applied, were to be discussed. Strong believed that the printing and distribution of reports of these discussions would create a valuable literature of practical Christian work. Another approach to educating public sentiment was that of making the National Alliance "a great bureau of information touching the various lines of work and study which we take up."[11] The Alliance was to gather literature on moral reforms, city evangelization, church statistics, facts bearing on Alliance work and study. Such material was to be classified, preserved for reference, and eventually, when enough information had been collected, to be offered to the

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10. Min., Vol. 3: Oct. 29/86, 46.

11. Doc. XXII, 5.

public as a monthly publication. Strong did not see this phase of his plan materialize fully during his years with the Alliance, but he did make it the essential feature of his own organizations, the League for Social Service and the American Institute of Social Service, which he called "a clearing-house" of information, and with which he was connected from 1898 to 1916.

The core of Strong's new plan for the Alliance was the establishment of local branch alliances stressing interdenominational cooperation and house-to-house visitation in reaching the non-church-going population and in solving local social problems. For the next ten years, with but slight modifications to increase its efficiency, this was to remain the essential method of the Alliance in expressing its social mission. Alliances were to be established in all the great centers of population and later in smaller towns. Cooperation was then to extend to a wider area in the formation of county and state alliances, each holding its own conventions and pushing the work of local organization. In small communities where a branch alliance could not at first be formed, a reliable man was to act as correspondent with the national Alliance. The work to be done by such local organizations, according to the plan of 1886, was the collection of facts about the needs of the individual community by means of a local canvass and the study of the local religious and social problems revealed by such a canvass.

This aspect of the program reflected Strong's identification with the new scientific attitude of his generation with its faith in human reason. Asserting that ignorance of conditions was a fundamental cause of the social ills of the age, he contended that accurate knowledge of existing conditions would help bring better conditions. He wrote, "Classes are ignorant of each other. A thousand evils exist because they are hidden, or being imperfectly known, are not properly appreciated."[12] According to the Statement of Work Proposed, the local canvass was to be superintended by the local alliance. Though the latter was composed of evangelical clergy and laymen of all denominations, it was to be carried out "on denominational lines with the intelligent and fraternal cooperation of the various churches."[13] The value of such a program of local interdenominational cooperation was manifold. It would be a means of reaching the non-church-going masses with the Gospel. It would provide "thousands of men distributed through all parts of the country with whom we could correspond, and through whom we could both gain and distribute information" in any crisis. An agency of expressing public opinion, it would insure "the application of Christian principles to the solution of the great labor problems and social questions of the day" by preparing and circulating "popular tracts of an educational character for laboring men."[14] The work of the Alliance in setting up local groups to carry out the above intentions, Strong confidently wrote, would be recognized as God's work "by the stewards of God's substance" and thus would be furnished with both spiritual and financial resources.

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[12] Doc. XXII, 4.

[13] Ibid.

Having outlined the plan of work to be followed by the Alliance in its attempt to awaken the evangelical churches to their social mission, Strong spoke to all Americans when he declared, in summing up his message:

> The Christian churches of our country are called of God to a sublime opportunity. To save our American civilization and thoroughly season it with the salt of Christianity is to give a Christian civilization to the world. To purify the foundations of our life is to purify the streams which are to flow hence into the deserts of heathenism under the most distant sky. If this be true--and who can doubt it--no generation ever had a higher mission or dealt with farther reaching possibilities.[15]

It was this belief in the divine calling of the church, of the nation, of individual Christians of the generation to practical application of the Gospel for the salvation of America and through it the world, thus bringing the Kingdom on earth, that, throughout his life, gave a sense of urgency to Strong's discussion of methods of applying the Gospel. He never doubted the righteousness of the social interpretation of Christianity, but constantly sought through the years to improve the methods of its application. Dr. Elias Sanford considered Strong's

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[14] Ibid.

[15] Doc. XXII, 6.

Statement of Work Proposed, "its facts and program," as giving "the basis of his consecrated life. It is a voice for the present hour."[16] Josiah Strong's unceasing labor in striving to carry out this three-point plan of work, namely, setting up local alliances, holding general conferences and developing the Alliance into a bureau of information, finds intelligible meaning in the light of the concluding paragraph of the Statement, in a sense his personal motto:

> If we go forward in the patience of hope, in the largeness of Christ's love, in the strength of a mighty faith, in the inspiration of a profound consciousness of divine calling, in the courage of a deep conviction of divine guidance, and in the Master's spirit of utter self-giving to the work which we are summoned, the grandest success is sure.[17]

Strong spent the next six months in studying the religious situation and attitude in the churches, in "laying of foundations," and making plans of work.[18] To acquaint the clergy and laymen of the nation with the new plan of the Alliance, Strong sent out a circular letter in March, 1887, presenting in great detail the purposes and method of establishing local alliances. He specifically declared that the alliances were to be engaged in the active work of an "applied Christianity." He stressed the idea of the need of a reliable knowledge of the spiritual and moral needs of a locality, of the value of the national

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[16] Sanford, Hist. of Alliance, 81-82.

[17] Doc. XXII, 6.

[18] Annual Report of the Evangelical Alliance, June, 1887, Document Twenty-five, 5.

Alliance as a clearing-house of information, of the value of local alliances as a means of expressing Christian public opinion in times of state and national crisis.[19] In a canvass of the community followed up by systematic visiting of families in the area, Strong sought the answer to the problem of bridging the chasm between the churches and the masses and of socially applying the Gospel. An announcement of the new program was also prepared for the religious press.[20] Clergymen and laymen representing the several evangelical denominations and various sections of the country enthusiastically endorsed the plans and pledged cooperation. Among these were James McCosh, Richard S. Storrs, George W. Cable, Phillips Brooks, Charles D. Warner, Washington Gladden, Edward Judson, and James Buckley, editor of The Christian Advocate.[21]

While urging the formation of local alliances, Josiah Strong continued to study the problem of city evangelization. The Reverend Frank Russell, who in 1888 became Strong's assistant as Field Secretary, was consulted on his successful efforts in city evangelization in Mansfield, Ohio, and Oswego, New York. Strong also considered the need and wisdom of forming

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19. Min., Vol. 3: March 28/87, 81-82.

20. Ibid., Feb. 26/87, 68; see example of announcement in Christian Work, March 20/87, in Miscellany, Vol. 6, Union Theological Seminary Library.

21. See excerpts from letters in Doc. XXV, 12-17.

branch alliances in New York City and Brooklyn.[22] Attempts to organize a Brooklyn alliance, however, do not seem to have materialized until December, 1887.[23] In his first annual report for the Alliance made in June, 1887, Strong expressed great hope for the future success of "the new departure," because he felt Christians of the nation were anxious for just such a movement as the Alliance proposed. In Strong's opinion, The Statement of Work Proposed seemed to be but an expression of the general sentiment of the country. He wrote:

> There are many indications of a wide-spread preparation for exactly such a work as the Alliance has undertaken. . . . There has /sic/ sprung up spontaneously, in widely different parts of the land, local organizations in which various denominations have co-operated in doing more or less fully the work which the Alliance is inaugurating. . . .
>
> We have occasion for congratulation and thanksgiving, that there seems to be absolutely no opposition to the movement. It is looked upon as providential, and our proposed methods deemed thoroughly practical both by pastors and laymen. The reception which has been given to our new work deepens the conviction that the Alliance has "come to the kingdom for such a time as this."[24]

At the end of three years' work, however, Strong admitted he had misinterpreted the sentiments of the majority of the clerical community. Indifference was still the basic problem with which he had to struggle. Nevertheless, in October, 1887, The Western Christian Advocate praised the Alliance for proposing to become an active ally "if not a leader in the work for social, moral, and religious elevation of the people." The new plans appeared "broad and wise," and "with the energy and sagacity of Rev. Dr. Strong to put them into operation, we are sure good and large results will be secured."[25]

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[22] Strong presented a paper on city evangelization, Jan.21/87, no details are given, Min., Vol.3:64; see also Min., Vol.3: Feb. 26/87, 70-71; March 19/87, 77.

[23] For letters dated Dec. 22, 24, 27, 1887, signed by Strong and others calling for a meeting to organize a Brooklyn Alliance, a copy of a constitution suggested for branch alliances and used in Brooklyn, and also a small tract printed by the Brooklyn Evangelical Alliance, 1888, Suggestions to Supervisors, see material in Scrapbook, Vol. 4.

[24] Doc. XXV, 17-18.

The enthusiastic interest on the part of the liberal clergy and laymen in the new work of the Alliance was clearly evident in the first major national conference held in Washington, D.C. in December, 1887. Dr. Arthur T. Pierson referred to the conference as "the most important gathering of Christians since the Council of Nice."[26] Strong's efforts during the months of September and October, 1887, were spent in publicizing the conference and in preparing its program. He prepared a Call to the Washington Conference which was sent to over fifty religious journals of all denominations.[27] Letters were first sent to both clergymen and laymen asking permission to attach their names to the Call, and as a result more than seventy names appeared on the printed document.[28] The announcement declared the purpose of the conference to be a discussion of the perils threatening the church and the nation, and of the opportunities of the Christian church and country to meet these challenges. It asserted that the interdenominational cooperation of all evangelical churches would successfully meet the crisis. The conference was to consider how such cooperation might best be secured and how the whole church might be awakened to its responsibility.

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[25] Western Christian Advocate, Oct. 12/87 in Scrapbook, Vol.5.

[26] "Book Notice," Our Day, 1:250-253; the Republican, Washington, D.C., Dec. 9/87 noted that attendance at the session was exceptionally large. One evening session "commenced with the crowd extending to the street, which finally made a rush and overpowed /sic/ the ushers, occupying every nook and corner of the church," in Miscellany, Vol. 6.

[27] Min., Vol. 3: Oct. 27/87, 115; see also comments in Farmers' Cabinet, Amherst, N.H., Oct. 20/87 in Miscellany, Vol. 6.

Crisis was again the theme of Strong's message. He stressed the sufficiency of the Gospel to meet the crisis with the church acting as an optimistic guide in its application. The United States "until recently" had been exempt from the evils of European society "by reason of abundant lands, a sparse and homogeneous population, and an almost limitless demand for labor,"[29] but in this "new era" conditions had changed. The existence of great cities, increasing immigration, an unemployed class, increasing pauperism and crime were altering life in the United States. A continued crisis in the near future was indicated by the widespread spirit of lawlessness, the conflict with the saloon and liquorpower, the apathy of the popular conscience, the alienation of the masses from the church, and the increasing discontent among the workingmen. To save the nation and the civilization, the church must come to leadership, must recognize its relations to the entire life of the community, must adapt its methods of Christian work to the important changes in population and in the habits and temper of the people. The "formative West" still had to be infused with Christian institutions and the cities of the nation implanted with more and effective churches. The church must bring "the regenerative power of the Gospel to bear upon every character and life."[30] The ills of life could not be remedied by the ballot as men under monarchical governments seeking to popularize power had thought. Strong asserted:

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[28] Letter sent included the names of James McCosh, Phillips Brooks, Richard Storrs, Timothy Dwight, Morris K. Jessup, Lyman Abbott, Cyrus Northrup of the University of Minnesota in Scrapbook, Vol. 4.

[29] Call for the Washington Conference, 1 in Scrapbook, Vol. 4.

> Has not the time come for us to make demonstration of the truth that the Gospel can do what popular suffrage cannot do? Is not this the nation, and is not this the generation, providentially called to make such application of the Gospel to the life of the people as has never yet been made? Will not those who have enjoyed "government of the people, by the people, and for the people" be the first to learn that the essential evils of society are caused not by misrule, but by sin, and that the Gospel, therefore, must furnish the solution of the great social problems?[31]

The Gospel when socially interpreted, not the ballot, was the answer to the evils in society, and the Washington Conference was to discuss the best means of its application.[32]

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30. Ibid.

31. Call for Washington Conference, 1 in Scrapbook, Vol. 4.

32. For copy of Call see Min., Vol. 3: Sept. 20/87, 107; Scrapbook, Vol. 4; Doc. XXV, Appendix.

In addition to sending out the general announcement of the Conference, Strong prepared an invitation addressed to the clergy urging their attendance and assuring them that the meeting was to be a conference with time for general discussion.[33] Bishop Samuel S. Harris later commented that upon receiving Strong's invitation he felt a new era had begun, especially when reading Strong's statement that cooperation must take the place of competition among the churches.[34] To make special arrangements for representation in the conference, such important cities as Syracuse, Rochester, Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, and Washington, D.C. were visited by Secretary Strong during the month of October. The Washington Star reported that Strong "made a great impression on his hearers by the beauty, strength, and earnestness of his preaching."[35]

Although the Executive Committee influenced the program of the conference in early suggesting emphasis upon the need of interdenominational cooperation in adapting the simple message

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33. Min., Vol. 3: Oct. 11/87, 42; for example of the invitation see Scrapbook, Vol. 4.

34. National Perils and Opportunities. The Discussions of the General Conference Held in Washington, D.C., December 7th, 8th, and 9th, 1887. Under the Auspices and Direction of the Evangelical Alliance for the United States (New York, 1887), 309. This work will hereafter be cited as National Perils and Opportunities.

35. Washington Star, Sept. 26/87 in Scrapbook, Vol. 5; see also Christian Cynosure, Oct. 13/87; Christian Statesman, Nov. 17/87 in Scrapbook, Vol. 5; also see letter by Strong to the Reverend A. H. Burlingham, Nov. 12/87 declaring Strong had just visited the principal cities "of the Interior" and that "Not a little enthusiasm has been shown," in Scrapbook, Vol. 4.

of Jesus to the pressing questions of the times and the practical methods of their application,[36] the speakers and the topics selected for the meeting, as for the other two conferences that followed in later years, were primarily the result of the thought and organizing genius of Strong. Observers of the gathering said they could see "the hand of Secretary Strong" in the themes and arrangement of the convention program.[37] The Congregationalist felt that the "credit of the undertaking, and of its successful execution, justly belongs to the general secretary . . . more than to anyone else."[38] Notable among the speakers were such evangelical liberals as Washington Gladden, Bishop Samuel S. Harris, President James McCosh, Arthur T. Pierson, Samuel L. Loomis, President George A. Gates, Daniel Dorchester, and Richard S. Storrs. The themes stressed by the speakers were those which Strong, himself, had often emphasized in his statements: the need of church leadership and of an "applied Christianity," faith in the resources of the church, the Gospel as the only cure for social ills, reemphasis on the

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36. Min., Vol. 3: June 4/86, 23-24.

37. Min., Vol. 3: Sept. 20/87, 107-108; see also an article by the Reverend Henry Sharpe on the Washington Conference in Presbyterian Observer, Dec. 17/87, and comment by J. W. Foster in National Perils and Opportunities, 363.

38. Congregationalist and Christian Union were quoted in Boston Herald, Dec. 19/87; see also article in Christian Advocate, Jan. 7/88. All clippings are in Scrapbook, Vol. 5.

practice of self-sacrifice and soul in Christian dogma, the importance of saving the city in order to save American civilization, the need for consecrating the power which lies in wealth and the divinely ordained destiny of Anglo-Saxon America to lead the world for Christ and bring the Gospel to less advanced races.[39] Dr. Strong's views were explicitly quoted on the subjects of cooperation, lay visitation, resources of the church, consecration of money, discontent of the working man and city growth. Reference was also made to points of view expressed in Our Country.[40]

In his own address, later published in National Perils and Opportunities, Strong declared that American prosperity had become the nation's peril. America's material growth had outstripped its moral and spiritual growth. The conflict between capitalists and laborers showed "that our industrial system had not been informed by Christian principles."[41] The American civilization had to be "saved"; its social system had to be permeated by the Gospel. He asserted that the only way to save the nation's society and its institutions was to save its citizens; yet again he cautioned against the narrow, selfish desire of saving souls simply for denominational strength. He said:

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[39] National Perils and Opportunities, 305; for ideas presented on church leadership see 4, 310, 302, 109, 222, on the resources of the church, 109, 299, on the Gospel as the only cure for social ills, 325, 48, on self-sacrifice, 239, 40, on the city, 42, 40, 37, 19, 3, on wealth, 89, 90, on race, 304, 305, 272, 154, 340; Strong wrote the introduction to Samuel Lane Loomis, Modern Cities and Their Religious Problems (New York, 1887), during this same period.

[40] Review of National Perils and Opportunities in Our Day, 1: 250-3 (March, 1888).

[41] National Perils and Opportunities, 347.

> We shall not save men if we seek them for the sake of our institutions and our civilization. They were made for man, not man for them. An we shall fail at the lower unless we aim at and achieve the higher.[42]

By means of the two principles of cooperation and organization, the church could reach the entire population with its gospel and control the future development of the United States. Here Strong reiterated his confidence that through the creation of local alliances, uniting in social service the ministers and laymen of a community, the cooperation of all Christians which was needed to accomplish reforms and to defend cherished American institutions (by asserting pressure on state legislatures) could be achieved.[43] The cooperation was to become evident in the study of local sociological and industrial problems and in applying Christian principles to their solution.[44] The search for an effective and efficient method of applying the Gospel occupied by far the greatest part of Strong's time while working for the Alliance. He also continually asserted and emphasized the urgency of quickly discovering such a method. Here in 1887, Strong declared what he had stated before and what he would state

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42. Ibid., 355.

43. Ibid., 345-6, 354.

44. Ibid., 346-7.

often thereafter, namely, that America had been commissioned by God to lead the way in solving the sociological problems of the new age, a solution which could be found only in the application of the teachings of Christ.[45] America was to be the land where the readjustment in the relations between man and man based on the truths of human brotherhood and Christian fellowship would first take place. He declared the hour to be at hand for accomplishing the work for which God had chosen the American people.[46]

Strong's statements before the conference and in the *Call* for its meeting were but a reaffirmation of ideas he had held in the days of his ministry in Ohio, the days of the writing of *Our Country*, and of the Cincinnati Interdenominational Conference on City Evangelization. The emerging school of theological liberals--Washington Gladden, William Newton Clarke, William J. Tucker, Theodore T. Munger--were likewise writing and speaking in similar terms during these years. Lay visitation, through house-to-house contact with parishioners by lay church workers, was being used by other groups. Strong came to these views on theology and method in the early years of the emerging social gospel and remained always firm in his conviction of their righteousness.

The Toronto *Mail* thought Strong's address "a powerful plea for united action on the part of the churches"; the *Episcopal*

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[45] *Ibid.*, 348.

[46] *Ibid.*, 347.

Recorder called it "able" and said that it "elicited much comment." The Boston Watchman commented that Strong's plan of cooperation stressing interdenominational cooperation in canvassing and visiting one designated area, as had been suggested by Strong in the Statement of Work Proposed in 1886, differed somewhat from that of Washington Gladden who believed the field should be divided among the churches in a town, each denomination working in its own area.[47] A warning was issued by The New Christianity of Philadelphia, against attaching any "orthodox" or "evangelical" qualifications to Strong's idea of local alliance cooperation which would confine its operation to old school theories or established views. The New Christianity advocated that the idea be accepted and acted upon "in the most broad and comprehensive sense of the words in which Dr. Strong has put it."[48]

Comment was also expressed concerning Strong himself. The Central Methodist believed that Strong, tall and slender, looked to be "feeble," but was "full of vigor and work." Some were confident that Strong, "with the energy and capacity for work with which he seems to be endowed," doubtless had a great and useful career before him. The Philadelphia Presbyterian Observer felt that Strong was "a model secretary" for he was a "modest,

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47. Doc. XXII and Scrapbook, Vol. 5.

48. New Christianity, Jan. 19/88, Mail, Dec. 3/87, Presbyterian Observer, Dec. 17/87, Episcopal Recorder, Dec. 15/87 in Scrapbook, Vol. 5; speech is also in Our Day: 1:273-9 (April, 1888).

unobtrusive gentleman, very ready, wise, energetic, and consecrated to [his] work." In contrast to the general enthusiasm over Strong, was the critical view of the Denver Republican. The paper believed that Strong was "an extremist" and was "in some respects fanatical."[49]

The conference was reported in more than two hundred newspapers, at least one hundred of which were secular, from all parts of the nation.[50] The scrapbooks of the Alliance contain clippings, for the most part enthusiastic in comment, from papers in Michigan, Ohio, Nebraska, Iowa, Nevada, Minnesota, California, Montana, Georgia, Vermont, Maryland, New Jersey, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania.[51] Criticism was not lacking, however. Some believed that the lodge question and the Christian church should have been discussed; some thought too much of a spirit of despair for the future of the Republic had pervaded the discussion, while among the Alliance supporters "none doubted their own righteousness" or the wisdom of their plans; some thought the West had been unfairly criticized:

> The charge was made that in the west the contentions between churches in smaller towns was enough to make angels weep and devils laugh. Why the west was singled

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[49] Denver Republican, Dec. 11/87 in Miscellany, Vol. 6; see also Morning Tribune, Altoona, Dec. 15/87 in Miscellany, Vol. 6; Central Methodist, Dec. 24/87 and Presbyterian Observer, Dec. 17/87 in Scrapbook, Vol.5.

[50] Letters by Strong, Dec. 14/87 calling for a meeting of the Executive Committee and Sept. 28/89 to an editor in Scrapbook, Vol.4.

[51] Scrapbook, Vol. 5; Miscellany, Vol. 6.

> out is hard to comprehend. Experience has pretty well demonstrated that the east has nothing to boast of over the west in this respect.[52]

Public reaction to the conference and its proposals, nevertheless, seemed very encouraging, and Strong wrote to the Executive Committee two weeks later that the conference was "eminently successful" and had made "a deep impression" on the country. He confidently stated that the Alliance now had simply to take advantage of the opportunity which this success afforded.[53]

During the years 1888 and 1889, Strong, with the assistance of Field Secretary Frank Russell, sought to carry out his plan of establishing local alliances in cities throughout the nation. Russell, who had been successful with house-to-house visitation in two cities, had been appointed as Field Secretary in March, 1888, because of the rapid growth of the movement following the Washington Conference.[54] By January, 1890, the work of house-to-house visitation had been begun in forty cities scattered through fourteen states and one territory--New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Kentucky, Kansas, California, Washington Territory--and a beginning had been made in Canada.[55] The new movement of the Alliance, Strong felt, had been successfully introduced to the country by the Washington Conference, and as early as March, 1889, he wrote that the movement "which has in it almost boundless possibilities, is rapidly becoming national." Baltimore was the first large city to undertake the work in 1887.[56]

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[52] Journal, Lincoln, Nebraska, Dec. 11/87 in Scrapbook, Vol. 5; for comment in other papers see American, Dec. 21/87 in Scrapbook, Vol. 5, Commercial Gazette, Cincinnati, Dec. 24/87 in Miscellany, Vol. 6; see also opening address by President Dodge at the Boston Conference in 1889 stating that the conference was "heartily endorsed by the press of the whole country, with hardly a word of adverse criticism or suggestion" in National Needs and Remedies. The Discussions of the General Christian Conference Held in Boston, Mass., December 4th, 5th and 6th, 1889 Under the Auspices and Direction of the Evangelical Alliance for the United States (New York, 1890), 2. This work will be cited hereafter as National Needs and Remedies.

[53] Note dated Dec. 14/87 in Scrapbook, Vol. 4.

[54] Min., Vol. 3: Jan. 10/88, 127, Jan. 31/88, 136, March 15/88, 138. Russell's services ended on March 1/93, see Min., Vol. 4: Feb. 10/93; see also Annual Report of the Evangelical Alliance, Document Twenty-six, January, 1889, 5.

The procedure followed in setting up local alliances was that of holding four or five weekly meetings in a community, three of which Secretary Russell attended. At the first meeting, a union meeting of local churches, Russell explained the character of the work, and at successive meetings set up the program.[57] A series of four lectures was also delivered by Russell to discuss problems in cities and towns where alliances already existed. The topics on which he spoke were: "The Religious Conditions of our Communities," "Co-operation of Churches in Community Work," "Personal Responsibility of Churchmembers in Community Work," "Community Work by Practical Methods within Existing Denominational Lines." Strong wrote letters to pastors seeking to arouse an interest in the Alliance method and a desire to hear Russell explain it.[58] Groups of pastors were thus organized, religious censuses taken, and monthly visits to church members inaugurated.

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[55] Annual Report of the Evangelical Alliance, Document Twenty-eight, January, 1890, 6; the states are named in Strong's address before the Boston Conference, National Needs and Remedies, 17; Strong and officers of the Alliance were at an Alliance conference in Montreal, Oct. 25/88, see Min., Vol. 3:Oct. 11/88, 159-160.

[56] Strong to Count Bernstorff and Dr. Bauman, March 27/88 in Min., Vol. 3; March 27/88, 143-144; see also Strong's address at the Boston Conference, National Needs and Remedies, 19, 33, and Sanford, Hist. of Alliance, 83.

[57] Letter by Strong, no addressee, no date, in Scrapbook, Vol. 4.

An essential phase of the Alliance plan to revitalize the church was its emphasis on personal lay effort. Church methods were to be adapted to the changing conditions of American life not only through cooperation of local pastors and denominations in their Christian work, but also through the personal contact of lay members with non-church-goers in the community. Strong during these days of establishing alliances stressed his conviction that all members of the church must save sinners, that personal effort on the part of the layman was a part of Christian life, and that "Every man ought to be a winner of souls."[59]

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58. See form letters dated May 22/88 (to Pittsburgh and Alleghany), May 25/88 (to Kansas City) by Strong stating Russell was to visit that city on a specific date or dates, and asking if the pastor addressed wished to arrange a union meeting of churches or a conference of pastors and prominent laymen in the interest of the Alliance, in Scrapbook, Vol. 4.

59. Josiah Strong, "Aggressive Cooperation of Evangelical Churches," Our Day, 2:86 (Aug. 1888).

Lay members were to be assigned ten families to visit for the purpose of asking each family its church preference. The pastor of the church preferred was notified and he then called on the family. The lay visitor continued monthly visits to his families thereafter, making monthly reports to a field supervisor who was placed in charge of a group of visitors.[60] The unchurched in the city were thus to be reached by individual evangelization on a city-wide scale. Strong continually checked on the work of recently formed alliances asking the names of officers, whether or not visitation had been established, the condition of the alliance, and the like. He made clear that the national alliance desired to aid local branches "by serving as a point of contact between them, thus giving to each the benefit of the experience of all."[61]

In December, 1888, a circular letter was printed and signed by Strong and Russell asking local alliances to answer a series of questions in order that Strong could make a comparative study of the results of the organization of branch alliances. The questions asked were: when had work begun; what denominations were included, the membership of each; what denominations declined

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60. Ibid., 87; see Scrapbook, Vol. 4 for examples of supervisors reports used in Oswego, N.Y., monthly reports for visitors in Baltimore, 1888, in Rome, N.Y., 1890, and forms for alliances dated 1888 in Baltimore, Nyack, and Rochester.

61. Printed letter form by Strong, no date, in Scrapbook, Vol. 4.

to join; how large a population the work tried to cover; what was the total number of the force of visitors; what was the gain of church attendance by work; how often and of what character were regular alliance meetings; what percentage of visitors failed to report each month, if any; what difficulties or hindrances required most attention; whether any new agencies had grown out of the work, and their character; what reform, if any, had resulted from the work; to what extent supplying of Bibles had grown out of the work; whether visitors distributed tracts.[62] Strong's question concerning the reforms that had resulted from the work is a significant indication that he expected the movement to be more than simply one of evangelization and education. In January, 1889, he concluded that the facts showed that the organization of local alliances needed his personal supervision or that of Russell to insure its success. Deploring the fact that towns, thinking to simplify the suggested plan, made instead fatal mistakes, Strong said:

> They "improve" on the plan before trying it, and then find that it works badly or not at all. We have yet to hear of the first town that has followed the methods suggested which has failed to organize with ease or carry forward the work with success.[63]

Rather than immediately expanding the movement, Strong suggested, in a statement that was to be characteristic of his thoroughness during all of his work, that the fields where work had already begun and which were within the reach of the secretaries should first be "cultivated" until a group of men in those alliances had been "raised up," made thoroughly acquainted with the work and ready, therefore, "to serve as state or city secretaries."[64]

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[62] Circular letter, dated New York, Dec. 20/88 in Scrapbook, Vol. 4.

[63] Doc. XXVI, 6-7.

The new movement had grown so extensively in New York by the fall of 1888 that a conference of the branch alliances of the state of New York was held under the direction of Strong and McBurney in the Syracuse Young Men's Christian Association Hall on November 20, 21, and 22, 1888. The purpose of the meeting was to establish a permanent state organization.[65] The characteristic features of the work of a local alliance were clearly explained by Strong in the Call announcing the meeting. The practice of local visitation and the subsequent study of the outgrowing needs and problems of an area were praised for the opportunity they gave for using a large number of church members in personal work, for interblending denominations in the movement as a real force in the community, for using individual persuasion in a "kindly way" upon non-church members, for studying the different classes in the communities, and for avoiding and correcting mistakes in locating new church enterprises. Undoubtedly there were many more advantages Strong could have enumerated, for he added, "The indications are increasing that great results, beyond the expectations of any, are to accrue to the churches."[66]

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[64] Doc. XXVI, 6-7.

[65] Min., Vol. 3:Sept. 25/88, 157-8.

On the opening night of the conference, Strong addressed the group in "strong and startling statements" on "The Evangelical Alliance and the Needs of the Times."[67] The Reverend Charles B. Chapin, Secretary of the Brooklyn Alliance, commenting on Strong's address, said the General Secretary presented seven ways in which the church might reach the masses. These included efforts to overcome the indifference of the majority of church members; to publicize facts concerning the Christless condition of souls to be saved as a means of overcoming this indifference; to bring the church into actual contact with the world; to utilize the laity; to individualize responsibility; to organize and cooperate; and to pray for the power of the Holy Ghost.[68] Chapin added that the tone of Dr. Strong's address was "most hopeful."

One of the proposals of the meeting was the organization of a state committee; and Strong's advocacy of it was presented in stirring terms. According to Chapin,

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[66] Min., Vol. 3: Nov. 1/88, 162-164; letter by Strong to Henry McCune, Nov. 12/88, expressing Strong's confidence in the results of the movement in Scrapbook, Vol. 4.

[67] See article by the Reverend Charles B. Chapin in Observer, New York, Nov. 29/88 in Scrapbook, Vol. 5.

[68] Ibid.

> there was scarcely a dry eye among the audience, and all seemed ready for the statement made that if the possibilities of this new movement could be realized, it would mean as much to our church, to our land, and to the world, as the Reformation of the sixteenth century.[69]

The resolutions for appointing a state committee were adopted. In March, 1889, after visiting the local alliances in the state, Strong and Russell chose the list of persons for the state committee. In May, at the request of the state committee Russell resigned temporarily as Field Secretary of the national Alliance to work solely in New York State.[70]

Writing in January, 1889, in the Annual Report of the Alliance, Josiah Strong testified to the "decided awakening to the necessity of reaching the non-church-going multitude" and "a new impetus given to city evangelization" which had been evident since the Washington Conference of December, 1887. Applications for fuller information had been received from hundreds of towns and cities in nearly all the states and territories. So widespread was the interest that he now found it expedient to caution against hasty, misunderstood, faulty application of Alliance methods. He said:

> In a movement, where the problem to be solved is oppressively great and the factors which enter into it are only imperfectly known, while the practical solution is at the outset quite unkown , where there are no established precedents for our guidance, and

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69. Ibid.

70. Min., Vol. 3:Dec. 11/88. 70, March 7/89, 183-4, May 17/89, 198; National Needs and Remedies, 22.

> no experience for our instruction, it is necessary to feel our way slowly in order to avoid fatal error.[71]

For so critical a task, the Alliance, indeed all Christians, must work slowly and thoroughly. Yet success would come, because

> this movement was inspired of God, and is being directed by Him. His guidance has been constantly sought at every step, and we enter the coming year with a firm confidence that He will lead us to the accomplishment of His own great purposes.[72]

By the end of another year of intensive effort, by January, 1890, local alliances had been started in forty cities throughout the nation and city secretaries were being chosen to coordinate the branch alliances in sections of cities. Field Secretary Russell nevertheless reported many obstacles to the success of local alliances. Too few shared Strong's conviction of divine guidance in the Alliance project. Some churches were rich and wanted nothing more, some lacked the evangelistic habit, some were reluctant to cooperate with those of other denominations, some deemed "so thorough a work" too radical.[73] A lack of understanding of the work, "putting it off as a mere spurt of method without comprehending the principles," was, perhaps, the greatest obstacle to overcome. Of the ideological basis of his work, Strong was confident, for surely the principle of personal effort of Christians in behalf of others and of their intelligent cooperation for the accomplishment of their objectives was obviously scriptural and demanded by the times.[74] Strong felt the need of continued patient study and adjustment of the method of applying these principles to suit the varying conditions of different communities. As a result of just such patient study, he recommended and carried out in the fall of 1890 a modification of the original method in the effort to achieve greater success in carrying out the work of cooperation and personal house-to-house visitation without his personal supervision or that of Russell. In addition to patient study and persistent endeavour in carrying out the work of the Alliance, Strong advised all to remain firm in "a living faith in God, and a constant consciousness of His guidance"--the explanation of his own tireless, optimistic, and devoted work.[75]

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[71] Doc. XXVI, 5, 8.

[72] Ibid., 8.

[73] Doc. XXVIII, 10, 6, 11.

During these early years of his work for the national Alliance, Strong also took an active part in the work of city evangelization in New York City, in connection with the activities of the Chickering Hall Conference Committee. The work in New York City of organizing the city for evangelization was carried on in a manner different from that in other cities. The city was divided into wards, some of which were worked by independent committees.[76] It was on such a committee "for the prosecution of evangelistic work in the Eighteenth Ward" that Strong worked, together with the Reverends Parkhurst, Rainsford, Weener, Satterlee and McChesney. This grew out of a conference of Protestant clergy and laymen held in Chickering Hall, in New York City on December 3, 4, and 5, 1888, which had been "extensively advertised" by prominent clergymen who for some weeks before had been making a canvass of the city.[77] As a result, a Committee of Twenty-five (the Chickering Hall Conference Committee) was appointed to recommend to churches family-to-family visitation and to organize the work in several wards. Strong, who had addressed the closing meeting of the conference on "The Necessity of United Christian Action," was duly chosen by the Committee of Twenty-five to work in the Eighteenth Ward, in an area bounded by Fourteenth Street, Twenty-sixth Street, Sixth Avenue and the East River.[78] According to Strong, the significance of the meeting was the interest which it stirred up in the religious conditions of New York City. The object of the organization of twenty-five to thirty pastors was "to secure the largest measure of cooperation in carrying the gospel to every home in the city."[79]

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[74] Doc. XXVIII, 8.

[75] Ibid.

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[76] National Needs and Remedies, 27.

[77] World, Dec. 4/88 in Miscellany, Vol. 6; see also Abell, Urban Impact, 93-94.

[78] New York Times, Dec. 5/88 in Miscellany, Vol. 6; see also William H. Tolman and William I. Hull, Bibliography of Selected Sociological References Prepared for the City Vigilance League, New York City (New York, 2nd edition, 1893), 13; George Whitefield Mead, Modern Methods in Church Work. The Gospel Renaissance (New York, 1897), 34; Nation, 47:447-448 (Dec. 6/88).

The Chickering Hall Conference Committee carried on for a time in some sections of the city a cooperative family-to-family visitation as a means of more effectively reaching the non-church-going class. According to Elias Sanford, a founder of the Institutional Church League of New York City and of the Federal Council of Churches, this conference laid the foundations of the New York City Federation of Churches. He wrote, "From influences set in motion by this Chickering Hall meeting we may trace the beginnings of the work of the New York City Federation of Churches, organized in 1894."[80] This was also the opinion of the Reverend Walter Laidlaw of Troy, New York, annual member of the Alliance from 1887 to 1893 and a local alliance secretary. In addressing the Church Federation Inter-Church Conference on Federation in New York City in 1905 as the Executive Secretary of the Federation of Churches and Christian Workers in New York City (organized in 1894) he stated that

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79. Strong to Dr. Read, New York, April 27/89 and to the Reverend W. H. P. Faunce, New York, Dec. 27/89 in Scrapbook, Vol. 4; also see letter evidently sent to pastors of churches asking for visitors for the Eighteenth Ward in Scrapbook, Vol. 4; the latest date on a letter signed by Strong which was found in Scrapbook was dated Jan. 21/91 and signed by Strong as Secretary.

80. Sanford, Hist. of Alliance, 82; see also Doc. XXVI, 8.

the Chickering Hall Conference was primarily responsible for city federation and that the basic reason for the failure of its plans "was the lack of preliminary investigation to discover whether the Oswego method of coöperation . . . was adapted to the facts of this city."[81]

A reading of the documents raises some questions as to the relationship of the Chickering Hall Conference Committee to the Evangelical Alliance. Members of the Alliance certainly participated in its organization meeting--Strong, Dodge, Jay, Crosby, Stoddard, and Wenner--and all were on at least one of its committees.[82] In his Annual Report in January, 1889, Strong wrote that the conference had been held "under the auspices of the various evangelical denominations, the New York City Mission, the several denominational city missionary societies, and the Alliance." Elias Sanford in his History of the Evangelical Alliance, written years later, accepted Strong's statement.[83] Some question is raised, however, when one reads in the Alliance minutes that on March 7, 1889, the Executive Committee adopted a resolution declaring that, "Some apprehension having arisen," they wished to make it clear that the Chickering Hall Conference Committee was

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[81] Elias B. Sanford, ed., Church Federation Inter-Church Conference on Federation New York November 15-21, 1905 (New York, 1906), 301. This federation of local churches still exists, although it is not directly a part of the National Council of Churches of Christ in America. The similarity of purpose of this organization of clergy and laymen with that of Strong's alliance work is interesting. Both sought to investigate various sections of the city in cooperation with churches in such sections in order to get accurate knowledge of the social life and of the churches in the area and to cooperate with existing agencies or stimulate new agencies where necessary. In a report of a sociological canvass supervised and tabulated by Laidlaw in 1898, Strong is listed on the Investigation Committee together with J. Riis, C. L. Brace, R. Graham, F. H. Giddings, and W. H. Tolman. On other committees were F. M. North, W. E. Dodge, Seth Low, Parkhurst, and Storrs. In the 4th Annual Report of the Federation for 1900-1901, Strong's League for Social Service was included in a list of cooperating organizations with Strong as representative. For information see Federation, 1:Nov. 1896-Jan. 1901.

[82] World, Dec. 4/88 in Miscellany, Vol. 6; letter dated Jan. 8/89 signed by committee for Eighteenth Ward in Scrapbook, Vol. 4.

> entirely independent of the Evangelical Alliance, and that while deeply interested in the work contemplated in the appointment of the Chickering Hall Committee, our own body exercises no supervision or direction in respect to their work which is conducted in accordance with their own particular views with entire independence.[84]

Later official comments suggest that the two worked in a parallel relationship. Strong reported to the Board of Managers of the Alliance in October, 1889, on the work of the Committee.[85] Field Secretary Russell's report in January, 1890, stated that "The Chickering Hall Committee work in this city has been so nearly allied to our work that some attention has been given it."[86] Russell's statement would seem to indicate that the Alliance was not directly connected with the Committee. Josiah Strong, nevertheless, remained actively a part of the work of the Chickering

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83. Sanford, Hist. of Alliance, 83-84; Doc. XXVI, 8.

84. Min., Vol. 3:March 7/89, 186-7.

85. Ibid., Oct. 31/89, 207.

86. Doc. XXVIII, 9.

Hall Committee as Secretary of the Eighteenth Ward, with the Reverend Parkhurst as chairman, as late as January, 1891.[87]

Can the Alliance reaction in March of 1889 be interpreted as a reaction on the part of conservative members of the Alliance to the new liberal theology then developing? In a letter calling for the cooperation of local pastors, Strong together with other members of the committee for the Eighteenth Ward had written in January, 1889, asking for cooperation in carrying out family-to-family visitation with the primary view of reaching those not identified with any Christian church "on the simple basis of common faith in one Divine Lord."[88] It is possible that the disavowal of close connection with the Chickering Hall movement sprang from the desire of the leaders of the Alliance to avoid possible unfortunate consequences of too close association with liberal theological controversies of the moment. Strong's letter of January, 1889, suggests an inclusive point of view. But in the succeeding February and March, 1889, controversy was raging in Brooklyn over the admittance of liberal non-orthodox churches (Unitarian, Universalist, Swedenborgian) into the local alliance. Was the subsequent emphasis by the Alliance on the independent nature of the Chickering Hall Committee a reassurance to those ministers and laymen who were adopting slowly, hesitatingly a social interpretation of the gospel of Jesus while clinging to the evangelical creed of their faith that the Alliance, socially conscious in its "new departure," was above all evangelical in its basic beliefs? The nature of the dispute taking place in Brooklyn at the time of the adoption of the Chickering Hall resolution would seem to confirm such a conclusion.

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[87] Letter calling for meeting in Scrapbook, Vol. 4.

[88] Letter dated Jan. 8/89 signed by members of the committee for the Eighteenth Ward in Scrapbook, Vol. 4.

A dispute had arisen over reactions to the sending of circulars by the clerk of the Brooklyn Evangelical Alliance to pastors of liberal as well as evangelical churches inviting them to a conference concerning the formation of a branch alliance. Thereupon, Dr. Charles B. Chapin, Secretary of the Brooklyn Alliance, sent notes on February 22 declaring the invitation had been an error. Chapin explained that the clerk did not understand that only pastors of evangelical churches were to have been invited to participate. The action of the Alliance was denounced by many liberal clergymen. The Reverend Gunnison of All Saints' Universalist Church declared that if it were known in Brooklyn that the proposed canvass was "seeking converts to dogma, and engaged in proselytizing," the entrance of visitors into homes of Brooklyn people would be regarded as an impertinence and an intrusion.[89]

What was Strong's attitude on this matter of excluding liberal churches from the Alliance? But a month or so earlier, in the work of the Chickering Hall Committee, he had urged cooperation of all who simply believed "in one Divine Lord." Now, however, he sensed disaster to the entire Alliance program if the liberal churches were to be included, for he knew perhaps too well the predominantly evangelical tenor of the majority of Protestant churches. To admit Universalists and Unitarians "would kill the movement in ninety days." He believed two-thirds of the evangelical churches would withdraw, whereas the injured feeling of the liberal churches would have "little or no effect on the movement." He had no personal feeling against the liberal churches, but he took the pragmatic view that it was of first importance that "the Christian, orthodox churches must combine in their own work." Dr. Strong made the position of the Evangelical Alliance quite clear when he declared

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[89] Citizen, Brooklyn, March 9/88 in Miscellany, Vol.6; see also similar statement by Dr. Charles H. Hall of Holy Trinity Church in the Brooklyn Eagle, March 17/88 in Miscellany, Vol. 6.

> The word Evangelical settles the question at once. In fact the question of admitting the liberal churches was settled in London forty years ago. The Evangelical Allience is an organization and not a "movement" as some of the clergy have characterized it in their public addresses. It is an organization chartered by the state with the privilege of establishing branches. The term of its constitution is such as to exclude Universalist, Unitarian or Swedenborgian churches. The practical question of this matter is whether it is best to receive one church and sacrifice none.[90]

Most orthodox clergy in Brooklyn supported Strong's views, yet Dr. Lyman Abbott, editor of The Christian Union and acting pastor of Plymouth Church, did not see why "even a very important theological difference should prevent cooperation in such work."[91] Yet even the liberal Abbott, while believing that a Protestant alliance would be better and a Christian alliance best of all, had to concede that "An evangelical alliance is better than none at all."[92]

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[90] Brooklyn Eagle, March (no date)/88 in Miscellany, Vol. 6.

Strong's position was basically an effort to keep the Alliance program free from the theological controversy shaping up during this decade between evangelical churchmen and moderate theological liberals. Although in statements in the late 1880's Strong spoke in terms later considered the essence of the new liberal theology--immanence of God, Kingdom on earth, unity of sacred and secular--he saw nothing to be gained in sacrificing to theological warfare what could be accomplished in church attitude toward society and in church method. A few years later, he took a similar stand when he withdrew his name from the list of editors of The Kingdom. In a letter to the editors he wrote that "certain members of the Executive Committee of the Evangelical Alliance" thought the Alliance was "in some measure compromised" by his name being included in the list of editors. He, therefore, withdrew his name and expressed his determination that the movement in behalf of the social mission of the church should not "be dragged into the theological arena."[93] Such a tragedy, he stated, would be needless and lamentable. He believed it was possible to criticize the life and policy of the church without arousing any great resentment and to urge the adoption of its social mission without exciting opposition. Ministers, "old school and new," had accepted the belief in the social mission of the church. Men holding radically different theological views may be "filled equally with this life of the Spirit." Any theological war related to this movement for applied Christianity, Strong believed, would be fatal to the cause.

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[91] Ibid.

[92] Ibid.

The doctrine of the kingdom of God on earth, most basic to the new liberal theology of the social gospel, could be "faithfully and successfully preached without throwing down the theological gage of battle," Strong further emphasized in his letter to the editors of The Kingdom. He cited his own, The New Era, published in June, 1893, as doing just that. The doctrine of the Kingdom undoubtedly had its theological implications, "for all truth seems to be related to all other truth," but since this was not obvious to the average mind, Strong urged that the concept not be thrust forward, but left to suggest itself gradually. Instead of fighting theological views inconsistent with the doctrine of the Kingdom, the vital truths of the social mission should be implanted and "their growth will uproot the convictions that stand in their way."[94]

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[93] Strong wrote in a letter to the editors of The Kingdom (no date, but after New Era of June, 1893) that his relation to the paper was "very slight and momentary" though he was very devoted to its interests. For letter see Scrapbook, Vol. 4. George Herron took over the Northeastern Congregationalist in 1894 calling it The Kingdom. The paper ceased to exist in 1899; see Henry F. May, Protestant Churches and Industrial America (New York, 1949), 254, and Robert T. Handy, "George D. Herron and the Kingdom Movement," Church History, 19:91-115 (June, 1950).

In the controversy over the liberal churches and the Brooklyn Alliance as well as in the warning to the editors of The Kingdom, Strong showed that his major interest was in having the churches, the evangelical orthodox churches and clergy, awaken to their social mission and seek its application by means of interdenominational cooperation. Adjustment to the established results of science and of Biblical criticism would eventually produce a new theology. Theology, however, need not be argued since the truths of either orthodox or liberal Christianity were enough to inspire the social consciousness needed. The crisis now facing the church and the nation needed above all an acceptance of her social mission by the church. To identify the movement for applied Christianity with a strange theology, supposedly destroying such truths as the atonement and man's need of regeneration, to create the impression that the doctrine of the Kingdom is not orthodox, Strong told the editors of The Kingdom, would postpone the needed movement for a generation. Cooperation of churches in applying Christian principles to the entire life of the community was in his opinion the greatest need of the times. Such cooperation would come easily and naturally just so far as the churches accept their social mission, "for they have no historic differences in that field."[95]

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[94] Letter by Strong to editors of The Kingdom in Scrapbook, Vol. 4.

The controversy over accepting the liberal churches into the Brooklyn Alliance did not cease with Strong's statement early in March, 1888. The Brooklyn Eagle boasted in its March 17th issue that it had revealed the sectarian nature of the Alliance. Some clergy "indignantly repudiated" as a libel Strong's statement that recognition of the unevangelical churches would drive out nine-tenths of the orthodox churches.[96] Others felt that

> it is just such exhibitions of narrowness and bigotry on the part of the so called Evangelical Alliance that is driving people away from the churches and crowding halls and theaters where men like Bob Ingersoll and Hugh Pentecost hold forth.[97]

The deacons of the Lee Avenue Congregational Church in Brooklyn voted to take no further part in the work of the Alliance as long as the Universalists were barred from participation. Pastor Powell stated that technically the Alliance had grounds for excluding the Universalist All Souls' Church from the

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95. Letter by Strong to editors of The Kingdom in Scrapbook, Vol. 4; see also an article by Strong, "A Symposium on Inspiration," Our Day, 2:422-424 (Dec. 1888). Strong's answer to the question "In what sense do you believe the Bible to be the Word of God?" was that it was "an authoritative message from Him, expressed by the messengers in their own language."

96. Brooklyn Eagle, March 17/88 in Miscellany, Vol. 6.

97. Brooklyn Eagle, March 26/88, letter to Eagle, March 22/88 signed "Orthodox" in Miscellany, Vol. 6.

project, but since the church was a principal church in the area, a more liberal policy should be followed.[98] In the interest of allying applied Christianity and cooperation with the majority of the Christian churches, Strong thus avoided theological controversy, but, as the New York World concluded, "the Alliance" had "lost many of its supporters."[99]

By the fall of 1889, Strong had become convinced of the necessity of simplifying organizational procedures so as to minimize the amount of supervision he and Dr. Russell had been required to give. He was strengthened in his conviction by the responses to letters he sent out in November, 1889, requesting information on how the local alliances were working.[100] That his concern about the effectiveness of method was uppermost in his thinking becomes clear upon reading a further statement in the same letter:

> Of the two fundamental principles which we are seeking to apply, viz. personal Christian effort and Christian co-operation we feel absolutely sure. Both their value and practicability have been already demonstrated. It is quite possible, however, that our method of applying these principles will have to be modified.[101]

The information received as a result of this inquiry was presented by Strong before the national conference of the Alliance held in Boston, December 4, 5 and 6, 1889.

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[98] Standard Union, Brooklyn, March 31/88 in Miscellany, Vol. 6.

[99] New York World, April 2/88 in Miscellany, Vol. 6.

[100] Letter by Strong to Evangelical Alliance in Springfield, Massachusetts, Nov. 20/89 in Scrapbook, Vol. 4.

[101] Ibid.

Preparations for the conference had occupied most of Dr. Strong's time from April to December, 1889. God's guidance was sought in the work at hand; letters were written to clergy asking their prayers that speakers might be enlightened by God and that the conference might further God's kingdom in all the churches and communities of the land.[102] The conference was to discuss the needs of the city, the country, the times, and its remedies, which included Alliance methods.[103] Among the notable speakers were Phillips Brooks, Charles H. Parkhurst, L.T. Chamberlain, Frederic D. Huntington, H.A. Schauffler, A.J. Gordan, and Professors Graham Taylor and Richard T. Ely. Ideas stressed in the various addresses were the need of interdenominational cooperation to conquer social ills in the city and on the frontier; the need for the Gospel and not socialism as the basis for all reforms; the need for self-giving and Christian citizenship; the success of the systematized method of house-to-house visitation used by the Alliance for reaching the non-church-going masses.[104]

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[102] Doc. XXVIII, 5; Min., Vol. 3:March 7/89, May 17/89, 197-198, June 4/89, 200, Nov. 27/89, 213; see also letters by Strong to Joseph R. Wheeler, Oct. 19/89 and letters dated Nov. 1889, no addressee, in Scrapbook, Vol. 4.

[103] Discussions in National Needs and Remedies; for comment on the conference see Sanford, Hist. of Alliance, 85. Sanford stated that the importance of the conference was seen in the fact that 500 delegated representing 16 denominations were present; for newspaper comment see statement by J.B. Devins of Boston that the conference was animated by a spirit of "liberal conservatism," Interior, Chicago, Dec. 12/89 and the New York Observer, Dec. 12/89 which gives a fuller account of the meeting in Miscellany, Vol. 6; for comment on Strong see Christian at Work, New York, Dec. 12/89, Churchman, Dec. 21/89, 771-772, Christian Union, Dec. 12/89, 760, and Independent, Dec. 12/89, 17 in Scrapbook, Vol. 5; also see Doc. XXVIII, 5-6.

Josiah Strong used his opportunity of addressing the conference to emphasize the needs of the city and the methods of the Alliance as the remedy for those needs. Strong classified the needs of the city as physical--pure water, sanitary laws; political--municipal elections independent of national politics; social--solution to labor problems, assimilation of immigration; intellectual--free schools; moral--abolition of saloons, pauperism, crime; religious--a vital, living Christianity.[105] The influence of the sociological approach of the period was evident in Strong's conclusion that these needs "all have a bearing on individual character, and it is that fact which gives to them their chief importance."[106] To save American civilization in its hour of crisis, the church must save the American city. The city could be saved by using the good men and women who lived in it, and Strong was confident that there was not a city in the United States which did not have enough good men to save it. The method of Christ based on the two principles of personal contact and cooperation was the means of utilizing the good forces in the city. He declared, "Men are to be saved by bringing to bear upon them the divine goodness, of which those who have been filled with the spirit of Christ are channels, the manifestation."[107] Personal self-giving, personal love for one's neighbor which inspires sacrifice in his behalf had to become again part of church teaching. The power that would return to the church through use of this personal touch was to be made effective through cooperation.[108] Personal contact and cooperation were essential for saving the city, the saving of which was essential before the Kingdom could fully come. Since the Kingdom was certain to come on earth, Strong concluded that the city "can be saved."[109]

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[104] Discussions in National Needs and Remedies, on cooperation, 6-10, 23; on visitation, 32, 137, 104-110, 120; on socialism, 318, 235-6, 212; on the city, 45, 57; on theology, 207, 265, 307; on self-giving, 315, 320, 268, 272; on citizenship, 179, 180, 152, 131.

[105] Josiah Strong, "The Needs of the City," National Needs and Remedies, 57-62; and "Progress of Christian Co-operation Since the Washington Conference," 11-21.

[106] Ibid., 58.

Strong also took up the question of some alteration of procedural method in speaking to the convention on "The Progress of Co-operation Since the Washington Conference." He reiterated his faith in the principle of house-to-house visitation, for if the multitude would not come to the churches, the churches must go to the multitude. He nevertheless pointed out that much time was required to acquaint the clergy and laity with its importance and method. To do so, the personal supervision of Russell had to be concentrated on one state at a time until a State Committee and State Secretary, fully understanding the work, could be chosen.[110] Although the principles were "so scriptural, so natural, so reasonable, so necessary to the coming of the Kingdom that their final triumph is . . . as certain as the sure triumph of the Kingdom,"[111] Strong asserted that the particular methods of applying these principles might need to be materially changed. "Many and great obstacles"--indifference, inexperience, overwork of pastors, sectarianism--to be overcome would force an adaptation of method.[112]

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[107] Ibid., 64.

[108] Ibid., 66-67.

[109] Ibid., 62.

Having thus prepared the Alliance for this step, Strong proposed a simplified method of applying the Gospel to community life. The magnitude and urgency of the problem of city and country evangelization, especially emphasized by investigation of country areas carried on by seminary students under the direction of the New York State Alliance in the summers of 1889 and 1890, made a modification necessary.[113] As a result of a report by a special committee instructed by the Executive Committee in the spring of 1890 to examine the general scheme and methods of Alliance management and work, Strong and Russell were requested to prepare a report "embodying their views as to the work of the Alliance."[114] Strong presented his report on "modification of the organization and work of the Alliance" on September 16, 1890.[115]

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[110] National Needs and Remedies, 12-13.

[111] Ibid., 21.

[112] Ibid., 20, 14-16.

[113] Annual Report of the Evangelical Alliance, January, 1891, Document Twenty-nine, 5.

Undoubtedly it was with regret that Strong reported that the one form of cooperative work organized by the Alliance--systematic house-to-house visitation on the community plan--had been shown by experience to have failed to produce "any considerable results or even survived long without personal supervision from this office." He was confident that much good would come from the perfecting of the method and the gradual education of Christian public opinion, but the immediate crisis needed an organization that could survive without personal supervision. Four different types of alliances were then recommended as a solution. The simplest form was to be an organization of pastors of the evangelical churches of a community and the laymen of each of the churches. The object of the first type of alliance was to furnish a point of contact for the churches, to facilitate the discussion of their common interests and their relation to the entire life of the community (and whatever requires their cooperation), and "to afford a means crystallizing and a medium of expressing the public sentiment of the churches."[116] Rural communities were especially urged to adopt this form.

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[114] Min., Vol. 3:April 22/90, 236-8, 242, June 25/90, 247, July 9/90, 258.

[115] Min., Vol. 3:July 9/90, 260-263.

Composed like the first and with the same objects, the second class was in addition to undertake "through the churches or otherwise" an annual canvass of the community. Cities and towns not ready to begin the monthly visitation would profit by getting more exact knowledge of the community, and the visitors appointed to call on non-church-goers would be trained for the more systematic and thorough monthly visitation to which the annual canvass would ultimately lead. The third form of alliance would broaden its membership to include visitors and supervisors. It would also undertake systematic visitation on the district or community level. The fourth and most complex type of alliance would engage in community work under supervision from the home office. This was the original type of 1887. The three simpler forms, not needing supervision, could be encouraged everywhere and as rapidly as possible.[117] The new plan of organization was to be popularized in the religious press and before theological seminaries, lectures already having been delivered before the Methodist Episcopal Seminary in

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116. Min., Vol. 3:July 9/90, 261.

117. Ibid., 262; see also Doc. XXIX, 7, 8, and comment of Sanford, Hist. of Alliance, 85, that in 1890 the Alliance began the investigation of certain local districts "along lines that have been taken up in recent years on a much larger scale and thoroughness by the Federal Council of Churches."

Boston, the Congregational Seminary in Hartford, the Presbyterian Seminaries in Princeton, New York City and Auburn.[118]

The problem of country districts, neglected prior to the fall of 1890 in favor of cities,[119] and that of personal supervision were to be solved by this modification of organization. Strong, however, characteristically sought the basic cause for failure of his original scheme. Why was his personal supervision or that of Dr. Russell so essential? Personal house-to-house visitation, although not systematic and monthly, was being successfully used by other groups--the Pacific Garden Mission in Chicago, the Central Union Mission in Washington, D.C., and the DeWitt Memorial institutional church in New York City.[120] Strong knew that an understanding of more than method was involved. The original methods might have been ideal, he remarked; but, basically, they "assumed a larger measure of spiritual growth and intelligent zeal than actual experience shows to exist in the average church."[121] In Strong's opinion, not only the laymen but the clergy in the evangelical churches which he sought to organize had yet to understand the social mission of the church and the vital part they played in it. The conviction on the part of Strong that an awakening of evangelical Christianity was needed for the success of any social program grew so strong in the next four years of his work with methods of organization, that in the year 1897 - 1898, his last year of work for the Alliance, he started a campaign to educate public opinion and quicken the popular conscience. Since it was already evident in 1891 that the success of the work in every community depended essentially on an awakened and enthusiastic clergy, Strong was to devote his efforts in 1891 and 1892 not only to establishing branch alliances, but to writing a volume especially designed "to convince pastors of the need, practicability and value of the work which the Alliance is inaugurating."[122] The resulting volume, The New Era, was published in June, 1893.

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[118] Letter by Strong, no date, no addressee, in Scrapbook, Vol. 4. In the letter Strong stated that the classes of alliances had been described in two recent editorials of the New York Observer and that he was asking friends and officers of the Alliance to prepare an article for one or more of their respective denominational papers presenting the new plan.

[119] Doc. XXIX, 7.

[120] Abell, Urban Impact, 138, 139, 141.

[121] Doc. XXIX, 8.

For the next few years Dr. Strong did all he could to push the work of establishing local alliances and of enlightening the clergy, still counting on the expected results of cooperative house-to-house visitation for both reaching the non-church-going population and solving local social problems. During the fall of 1890, he worked for the success of the County Conference of the Alliance held in Rome, New York, October 27 and 28. He addressed the first meeting and remained during the conference.[123] Field Secretary Russell spoke in the mid-West in October and November. Church cooperation was started in the areas he visited--Chicago, Manistee, Kalamazoo, Detroit, Toledo, Cleveland, Akron, Altoona, Harrisburg, and Minneapolis. Russell presented the Alliance plan to seminaries during 1890-1891 at Oberlin, Chicago, and Princeton. In the regular course of instruction at Hartford Seminary and the Christian Training School at Springfield, Massachusetts, methods of the Alliance were studied.[124] During the year 1890 the annual membership in the Alliance increased 75 percent, and, although Strong expressed great need for awakening the clergy, in his Annual Report for the year 1890 he hopefully stated that he had received "assurances" from various sources that churches were awakening to a fuller recognition of the need to seek those outside the church due largely to efforts of the Alliance.[125]

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[122] Doc. XXIX, 8.

Work in Michigan resulted in the formation of local alliances and the formation of a State Committee by the end of 1891.[126] The leading cities of New Jersey were the object of six weeks of concentrated effort by Russell in the spring of that year.[127] At an Alliance meeting at Chautauqua in August,1891, Strong addressed a large meeting on August 20 which was followed by a morning conference devoted to discussion of Alliance work. Field Secretary Russell reported that correspondence from eight states telling of meetings and "intimating the commencement of home visiting" followed this summer conference. The addresses were republished by the Secretary of the Irish Branch of the Alliance for the assistance of work in Dublin.[128] During 1892 the plan was also presented before eight summer assemblies and thirteen seminaries of five denominations. Russell reported delivering thirteen lectures in Iowa in nine days, with the result that pastors in a dozen Iowa cities were eager to start the work.[129]

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[123] Min., Vol. 3:May 12/90, 245, July 9/90, 252-3; see also printed announcement in Scrapbook, Vol. 4.

[124] Doc. XXIX, 11. Annual Report of the Evangelical Alliance, Document Thirty-one, January, 1892, 12, and a letter, no date, in Scrapbook, Vol. 4, which quoted the Superintendent of Schools of Springfield to have said that the study of Alliance methods and plans of work had been begun that year, adding "Your work surpasses anything else in the country in its admirable plans and methods, and is calculated without question to accomplish the best results. Our young men would not be equipped for their work or proper usefulness, if not thoroughly conversant with your methods."

[125] Doc. XXIX, 8.

While concentrating on establishing local alliances in cities and rural areas in the East and mid-West during the early 1890s, Strong and the Alliance also showed grave concern over the conditions of churches on the western frontier. In Our

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126. Doc. XXXI, 7.

127. Min., Vol. 3:Jan. 30/91, 304.

128. Min., Vol. 3:Jan. 30/91, 301-2; Doc. XXI, 11.

129. Annual Report of the Evangelical Alliance, January, 1893, Document Thirty-two, 5.

Country he had stressed the need for saving the West, which he thought was destined to hold the major cities of the nation and dominate the East. In Strong's opinion the West was especially threatened by the perils of civilization which in turn were particularly evident in cities. The West held the key to the nation's future.[130] The question of organizing the work of the Alliance on the frontier was discussed in April, 1891, by the Board of Managers of the Alliance. After remarks by Strong, Dodge, and others it was decided to appeal to the boards of management of the various Home Missionary societies to secure their cooperation in exercising economy in the location and number of Christian churches and in the conservation of Christian resources on the frontier.[131] Drs. Strong, Stoddard and King were assigned to study organizing Alliance work in some one frontier state in the autumn of 1891. Writing on "Practical Cooperation in Church Work," Strong cited denominational rivalry as a major obstacle to lay cooperation. He declared it had been stimulated by the settlement of the West, because while the denominations were each "struggling to get a foothold in the rapidly multiplying communities on the frontier," their interests seemed separate and rivalries resulted.[132] Strong believed that denominational competition would be eased by changed conditions, for "this century will practically bring to a close the era of settlement."[133]

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[130] Our Country, chapter 3 and 152.

[131] Min., Vol 4:April 30/91, 4-5, July 8/91, 12.

[132] Josiah Strong, "Practical Cooperation in Church Work," Review of Reviews, 6:300 (Oct. 1892).

His interest in curbing needless denominational strife and rivalry in frontier areas as well as in rural communities led Strong to advocate the creation of interdenominational State commissions to supervise the location of churches. Such an interdenominational commission to promote cooperation of churches in church extension and missionary work had been started independently of the Alliance in Maine in December, 1890, and made permanent in 1892.[134] Strong was present at the annual meeting of the Maine commission in December, 1892. In April, 1893, he urged the Alliance to appoint such a commission in every state. He believed that such state commissions could do much to remove the cause of evils which sprang from competition of denominations in depopulated rural communities overstocked with churches.[135] Strong called the Maine Commission "a most gratifying application of the principles of the Alliance." By 1893 he reported that it had started to investigate local religious conditions and to recommend that churches in cities and larger towns cooperate on the basis of Evangelical Alliance plans or others of a similar nature. Finally in February, 1894, the Executive Committee of the Alliance resolved that it favored the organization of a commission in every state to promote "comity" among the different denominations in carrying out Christian work "provided a practical plan can be devised for such organization."[136] A committee of one clergyman from each denomination in each particular state was to be appointed to formulate a plan for the organization of such a commission. However, by the end of the year Strong could only report that plans were still being formulated which "contemplated" setting up commissions in other states. Dr. L. T. Chamberlain of Brooklyn was asked to assist in this work, but as Sanford wrote in his History of the Evangelical Alliance:

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[133] Ibid.

[134] See discussions of the conference held in Chicago by the Alliance in 1893, Christianity Practically Applied. The Discussions of The International Christian Conference held in Chicago, October 8-14, 1893, in connection with The World's Congress Auxiliary of the World's Columbian Exposition and under the auspices and direction of the Evangelical Alliance for the United States (New York, 1894). This volume will be cited hereafter as Christianity Practically Applied.

[135] Annual Report of the Evangelical Alliance, Document Thirty-four, January, 1894; also New Era, 327-328.

> The next decade of years, however, disclosed that other instrumentalities than the Alliance were to be used in advancing the cause of Church Federation and securing the Federal Union of the larger part of the evangelical denominations of the United States.[137]

Strong continually referred to the elimination of competition in all phases of life as a characteristic of the nineteenth century

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136. Min., Vol. 4:Feb. 9/94, 149.

137. Sanford, Hist. of Alliance, 93.

needed in the church, and he actively supported many groups which sought Christian unity.[138]

Strong found that the basic obstacle to interdenominational effort and to progress of the work of the Alliance, even after it had instituted more simplified methods, was the indifference, the apathy of the clergy. To one of his correspondents, Strong commented that members of the New York State Commission who had been urged to push the new plan of organization

> found it difficult sufficiently to interest the clergy to induce them to accept the responsibility and work necessary to organize a local alliance or arrange a County convention.[139]

In his Annual Report for the year 1891 Strong expressed the belief that most of the clergy were so preoccupied and burdened with their work that they did not even read Alliance documents which had been sent to them. What was needed was the attention and conviction of the pastors before the cooperation of the churches could be secured.[140] However, the Alliance could take satisfaction and hope from the knowledge that addresses before theological seminaries, articles prepared for the religious press, and the wide distribution of Alliance documents through the mails (over 640,000 pages in 1891) had borne some fruit. Strong wrote:

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[138] In Review of Reviews, 6:303, Oct., 1892, Strong was listed as a member of the advisory committee of the Brotherhood of Christian Unity formed in 1891 by the Reverend Theodore F. Seward to aid the union of Christians working for reform. Strong thought the group could do among Christians what the Alliance was trying to do among the churches; see Abell, Urban Impact, 98; Strong also aided in establishing The Open and Institutional Church League in 1894 which sought aggressive and cooperative action on the part of the churches, see Abell, Urban Impact, 161.

[139] Letter by Strong, no date, no addressee, in Scrapbook, Vol. 4.

[140] Doc. XXXI, 7.

> Five years ago we knew of only two or three communities where the churches made any systematic attempt to obtain such information. Now there are many scores, if not hundreds, where churches have made a careful canvass to acquaint themselves with their opportunities and obligations.[141]

Alliance ideas and methods appeared in many communities which had never been visited by the Alliance secretaries.

In reviewing his work in 1893, Strong appears to have concluded that the churches were not as ready for the movement as he had believed. Churches declined to cooperate, started the work with a limited understanding of its meaning, thought house-to-house visitation was simply for the purpose of inviting people to churches.[142] He stated that from 1887 to 1892 he had vigorously pushed the work of organizing local alliances. He believed that in the method of house-to-house visitation bringing to light the needs of the community and bringing about the cooperation desired by the churches to meet those needs, "the principles of the Gospel [could best]. . . be applied to the solution of the great social and industrial problems of the times."[143] After several years of experience, Strong now admitted he was wrong in his judgment of the attitude of the churches.

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[141] Doc. XXXI, 7.

[142] Doc. XXII, 6.

[143] Doc. XXII, 5.

In a tone more severe than in any of his previous statements, Strong warned the church that she must accept the principles of personal contact and cooperation to save the masses "unless the church is willing to have other organizations do her work, unless she is willing to fail of accomplishing her high mission."[144] The gravest doubts were being expressed by eminent men as to whether the church would realize her mission. Her work was being done by other agencies. God's methods were scientific and so must be those of the church if it were to be an efficient co-laborer with Him. A social spirit required more than the giving of money; he asserted, "we must give something more precious --our time, our study, our effort, our love, ourselves."[145]

Although Strong expressed dissatisfaction with the evangelical churches, he did not give up hope that through his program of personal contact and cooperation they could save American society. The year 1893 saw the publication of a new work, The New Era or The Coming Kingdom, three years in preparation, which explained the two basic principles, personal contact and cooperation, and showed the imperative necessity of applying them to the problem of both the city and rural districts.

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144. Doc. XXXII, 6.

145. Ibid.; see also discussions of the Chicago Conference, Christianity Practically Applied, 1:256.

Experience had shown, Strong was convinced, that "a great work of education" had to be carried on before these principles would be accepted.[146] Strong hoped the volume would give the churches a larger conception of their social mission and induce them to adopt Alliance methods. He also confessed his hope that a widespread interest in Alliance aims and methods would be aroused and thus readily supply the Alliance with the funds necessary for its work.[147] *The New Era* was published in June, 1893, and within five months reached its thirty-thousandth copy.

Many in this period of crisis in America's history expected violent revolution, wrote Strong in this new work, and it was within the province of the church to determine whether this would take place.[148] Social revolution was possible, but social *evolution* was a necessity, he added. The church must abandon the idea that love of neighbor was an ideal impossible of attainment in human society. Love of neighbor more than self, as Christ taught, "Love one another as I have loved you," alone would root out the selfish basis of society. If the new era were to mark an advance in the coming of the Kingdom, it had to be brought under the influence and power of Christian truth.[149] This was the opportunity and mission of the church. It must mold the civilization of the future by applying the teachings of Jesus in all their fullness in every purpose and motive of life.[150] Strong warned that the motive would miscarry if the method were wrong. An enthusiasm for humanity, that is, love expressed in sacrifice, was needed to transform the world. The church must not lose the opportunity for leadership and with it the opportunity to regain hold on the masses and shape civilization. The church must organize for social reform.[151]

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[146] *Doc. XXIX*, 8; *Doc. XXXII*, 7; *Doc. XXXIV*, 10.

[147] Letter by Strong, no date, no addressee, in *Scrapbook*, Vol. 4.

[148] Josiah Strong, *The New Era or The Coming Kingdom* (New York, 1893), 10. This work will be cited hereafter as *New Era*. See also an editorial statement that by 1916 a considerable portion of the volume had been translated into Chinese and permission had been granted for the translation of the volume into French as well as its publication in Switzerland in *Gos. of K.*, 8:97 (July '16); see also Arthur Dürrleman, "Église et Temps Présent d'après J. Strong et W. Rauschenbusch," *Faculté Libre de Théologie Protestante de Paris*, 61:1909-1910.

A preview of The New Era was given when The Missionary Review of the World printed the first chapter of the forthcoming book in its January, 1893, issue.[152] By January, 1894, a half-dozen papers were offering the book as a premium. "New Era Clubs" had been formed in various communities--Swarthmore College, the Henry Street Settlement--for the study of the book and the subjects presented in it. It was introduced as a text

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149. New Era, 112-113, 242, 251, 356.

150. Ibid., 134, 251.

151. Ibid., 314, 347, 356.

152. Missionary Review of the World, 6:7-17 (New Series, Jan. 1893), editorial note refers to Strong as "one of our editorial correspondents." The note also said the chapter of New Era was of value as a source of inspiration on missions.

book in two colleges and one theological seminary.[153] In response to the request of the Boston Secretary of the American Sunday School Union, 150 paper-covered copies of The New Era were sent, donated, to the missionaries of the American Sunday School Union. The editor of the Farm and Home magazine wrote Strong that he was very much impressed with the book and would like to be instrumental in getting it "among the mass of people that will never be reached in the ordinary channels of trade," that is, "the millions of farmers and members of their families who live in the back country districts." He suggested printing a cheap edition, to be sold for about five cents a copy which might be offered for purchase to the 300,000 subscribers of his magazine who were then renewing their subscriptions. He told Strong that these were "just the very people in the Southern, Western and Central states that need to be reached." Such an arrangement with the publishers of The New Era, however, does not seem to have been made.[154]

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153. Doc. XXXIV, 10; Tolman and Hull, Bibliography, 159, 161.

154. Min., Vol. 4:Dec. 8/93, 133; letter by Strong dated Sept. 14/94 to Daniel W. Stoffer states that the Alliance was inviting churches to make their pastors annual members of the Alliance and for churches acting on this suggestion, the Alliance would send $10 worth of books. The object of the proposal was to circulate the books and to secure income for the Alliance, although no contribution was asked for directly. Included in the list of books offered were Our Country (rev. ed.) 35¢ paper --60¢ cloth copy, New Era, 35¢ paper--75¢ cloth; S. L. Loomis, Modern Cities; A. T. Pierson, Divine Art of Preaching and The New Acts of the Apostles; T. Y. Cuyler, How to be a Pastor; C. F. Twing, The Working Church in Scrapbook, Vol. 4; Herbert Myrick to Josiah Strong, Springfield, Mass., Jan. 15, 1894, in E. Strong Collection.

Strong was surely filled with new hope when he wrote in January, 1894, that the book"has been favorably received in general, and seems to be accomplishing the work for which it was intended."[155]

Strong emphasized his concern for the social mission of the church and the need of cooperation not only in *The New Era*, but, a few months later, at the conference of the Alliance at the Chicago World's Fair, October 8-14, 1893.[156] Since the spring of 1891, Strong had worked to plan the program of the conference and publicize it. He arranged with Dr. William H. Tolman, who was active in the municipal reform movement in New York City, and Professor William I. Hull of Swarthmore for the compiling of a bibliography of sociological references for use at the conference.[157] The gathering was divided into a General Conference, of which the themes were the Religious Condition of Protestant Christendom, Christian Liberty, Christian Union and Co-operation, the Church and Social Problems; and a group of sectional conferences to discuss the church and social reforms. The latter part of the program was called by

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[155] *Doc. XXXIV*, 10.

[156] Discussions in *Christianity Practically Applied.*

[157] *Min.*, Vol. 3:April 10/91, 317; Vol. 4:May/91, 8, 10, July/91, 12, Dec. 12/92, 77, May 12/93, 110, July 7/93, 117; see also *Scrapbook*, Vol. 4, for letter by Strong, Nov. 6, 1891, concerning erecting a building for religion at the conference, also for typed statement that there was not enough interest to undertake it (no date), also for letter to an editor, no name, no date, asking him to publicize conference; William H. Tolman and William I. Hull, *Bibliography of Selected Sociological References Prepared Prepared for the City Vigilance League, New York City* (New York, First edition, 1893), introduction.

Strong a school of applied Christianity and "undoubtedly the noblest program of practical Christian work ever made in the history of the world."[158] The Kingdom idea, institutional church, types of church union--organic, federation, local alliances--house-to-house visitation, political reforms and the church, sociology, mission of America and the race, the Maine Interdenominational Commission were the topics repeatedly discussed.[159]

Strong was heartened to find so much of his philosophy activating the thinking of delegates to the Chicago World's Fair Conference. He detected "the unwavering conviction that the principles of the gospel" were "fully equal to solving all existing problems before the church, provided only those principles are applied;" and he saw evidence, as he said, that "we are no longer feeling our way amid changed conditions, but that those principles have been already successfully applied, and that we need only to popularize methods whose value has been demonstrated by a few."[160] What made the conference exceptional to Strong was the fact that the greater part of its program

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158. Doc. XXXIV, 9.

159. In Christianity Practically Applied: on kingdom idea, 1:468, 472-82, 2:39; on institutional church, 1:357-365; on church union, 1:26, 231, 222, 290-304; on visitation, 2:235; on reforms, 1:431, 442, 2:224-5; on sociology, 1:396, 457, 2:460; on missions, 1:51; on Maine Commission, 1:263-4.

160. Doc. XXXIV, 9-10.

considered the relations of the church to social problems.[161] The conference was, indeed, a live presentation of the themes of Strong's The New Era. The Reverend George H. McGrew of St. Bartholomew's Parish House in New York City commented:

> In passing around from room to room in the meetings that have been held . . . I have noticed several things, and I have come out from those meetings puzzled. I came out here with the idea that our Secretary of the Alliance, Dr. Strong, had written a great and original book, "The New Era." I am surprised to find that the two main ideas of that book are in the mouth of almost every speaker who addressed us. . . . And I am puzzled to know whether Dr. Strong borrowed these ideas from the West, or whether the West has been reading his book. Certainly they are ideas which need to be emphasized.[162]

The unity of the sacred and secular and the love of neighbor more than self, the two main ideas mentioned by McGrew, had evidently been accepted by many of the ministers attending the Chicago Conference. Strong's great hope was that they would just as fervently transfer the ideas to practice.

Believing that the indifference of many could be shaken by thorough understanding of the Alliance purpose and method, Strong addressed the conference on "The Aims of the Evangelical Alliance for the United States." In 1893 Strong saw the supreme aim of the Alliance to be the assistance of churches in recognizing

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161. Ibid., 8; Evangelist, New York, Oct. 26/93, said that the glory of the Evangelical Alliance was that it accepted only those who were Christians in the evangelical sense according to the Bible, thus its conference was more limited than the Parliament of Religions in Miscellany, Vol. 6.

162. Christianity Practically Applied, 1:486; also address by President Dodge praising Strong's New Era, 1:24.

and accomplishing their social mission. When the nature and magnitude of that mission were fully appreciated, cooperation among the churches, which had been the original purpose of the Alliance before 1886, would follow as a matter of course.[163] To understand her mission and opportunity, the church must realize that a new civilization was developing, with new ideals, new aims, new hopes. Society was entering a new sociological age marked by the oneness of the world and the solidarity of the race. Strong stressed that

> We are beginning to see that the material well-being and the moral and physical health of different classes are strangely bound up in one bundle. Nations as well as classes are coming into such close relations that we are being forced to a new study of those relations.[164]

The key to all the great movements of this sociological age, whether industrial, social, political, or religious movements, will undoubtedly prove to be, thought Strong, "a feeling after the right relations of man to his fellow."[165] Adaptation to environment was the law of life. The church must adapt both its methods and teachings to the new age if it wished to survive!

Will the church seize the opportunity of meeting the need of the new sociological age by establishing right relations between man and his fellows? The answer to this question would determine civilization for generations to come, Strong believed. Emphasis on the second commandment of Jesus--love of neighbor--as equal with the first--love of God--was needed. Previously the church had aimed at individual salvation and neglected social salvation. The church must believe that love of neighbor--"the organic law of a normal society"--is practicable in this selfish, sinning world. The fundamental principle of love would solve all the problems of the present social system. Strong wrote:

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[163] *Christianity Practically Applied*, 1:250, 259.

[164] *Ibid.*, 1:254.

[165] *Ibid.*

> When men find the right relations of man to his fellows . . . they will all be seen to flow from obedience to the second great law of Him who spake as never man spake; viz., "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." The world is ignorantly seeking after the brotherhood which Jesus Christ sought to establish . It is suffering for the application of his teachings to all the relations of life.[166]

Yet Strong made sure to emphasize at this time and thereafter that he did not urge the salvation of society as a substitute for the old gospel of salvation from sin. There could be no possible salvation from suffering, from social wrongs, without salvation from sin. The church must continue to preach love of God, but, discerning the signs of the times, she must fulfill her entire mission and learn to preach "with new significance and power" love of man.[167] Because the church had failed to believe in the practicability of the second commandment, it had failed to understand Christ's teaching concerning the kingdom of God. The new social ideal after which men were groping was simply the kingdom of God fully come--a society redeemed, a race perfected in condition as well as in character. Christianity must be applied to the entire life of the community, and to the entire life of the individual, physical and intellectual as well as spiritual. The cooperation of churches with one another was essential for the accomplishment of their social redemptive work. Cooperation of local churches, "federation at the bottom," as advocated by the Alliance, was Strong's suggestion.[168]

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[166] Christianity Practically Applied, 1:255.

[167] Ibid., 256.

The reasons for a social gospel, the essentials of a social gospel, the method of a social gospel had been clearly presented. Would the church awaken to its mission in time to put its mark on the institutions of the new civilization? Strong warned that a growing impatience with the church was developing. He asserted:

> Either the church will see the vision of the kingdom and preach the "gospel of the kingdom," which she has not yet done, or deliverance will arise from some other source. . . . The growing sense of brotherhood and increasing concern for suffering and want are multiplying organizations of a benevolent sort; and if the churches fail to meet the increasing demand, these organizations will continue to multiply until a coordination of them will become a necessity in the

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168. Strong's address appeared in Christian Literature and Review of Churches, 11:99-102 (May, 1894) under the title "How the Churches are Adapting Themselves to the Altered Conditions of Life. An Example for Europe"; for Strong's view on church union see Christian Literature, 10:139a-140a (March, 1894). Here he criticized the Reverend Charles W. Shields' book, The Historic Episcopate, stating that the historic episcopate was the greatest obstacle to church union.

> interest of economy and effectiveness. Wherever it obtains, the leadership which properly belongs to the churches will naturally pass to this new organization formed for the redemption of society, and the churches will lose the opportunity of the age to reach the multitude and mould the new civilization of the future.[169]

This belief that the churches might be left behind in the work of social reform was a significant new warning previously expressed only in the Annual Report of January of that year. With the hope of still being able to bring the influence of the church to bear on the many organizations of social reform which had sprung up by 1895 and whose work Strong believed belonged within the church, Strong started a new movement in 1895. Perhaps the church by coordinating the agencies of reform could still assume her rightful place in the redemption of society.

As has been pointed out, the plan of 1887 and the Washington Conference had sought to answer the question of how the churches could accomplish their social mission by advocating the method of house-to-house visitation. This plan had a limited success, because it had assumed a measure of spiritual growth in the churches which experience showed did not exist.

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[169] Christianity Practically Applied, 1:256; see also New Era for a statement by Strong that "No benevolent or reform work inspired by a Christian spirit should ever have been forced to go outside the Christian church for organization." He mentioned the Young Men's Christian Association, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Red Cross, the White Cross and any charity organization.

The new plan of 1895 sought to answer the same question, but by a different method and, as Strong stressed, "assumes nothing."[170] What Christians were doing in 1895 in the name of philanthropy and reform, Strong tried to persuade them to do as churches and in the name of Christ. He tried to convince them that systematized cooperative effort would be more effective than desultory and sporadic attempts. Although the evangelical churches had not accepted the social gospel as thoroughly as Strong had hoped, a greater degree of social consciousness, nevertheless, had developed within and without the churches since his first days with the Alliance. Organizations for reform had been established, many overlapping in purpose. Strong now sought a greater efficiency and spirituality in social work through local alliances devoted to social reform or through federation of reform agencies by means of local alliances.

Accomplishing the social mission of the church was still, as in 1887, the basic purpose of the new program, but house-to-house visitation was not to be the primary method of seeking to achieve this purpose. The churches of a community--clergy and laymen--were to organize and cooperate as a local alliance with the avowed purpose of improving the social conditions of their community. Such work of social reform was to be achieved by appointing standing committees on the lines of work to be

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170. Annual Report of the Evangelical Alliance, Document Thirty-seven, January, 1896, 6-7.

undertaken: comity in church extension, social conditions, evangelization in prisons, workhouses and neglected areas, relief, temperance, Sunday observance, legal advice, publication of state laws and duties of public officials, publication of information concerning the character of political candidates, municipal reforms, civic improvement, labor, education, legislation by petitions and protests and methods of securing voluntary contributions.[171] The churches cooperating in local alliances and coordinating the work of existing local agencies for reform were at last to become an effective force in directing civilization. All of the interests and activities of society, the whole of man--physical and spiritual--was to be Christianized, saved. Strong emphasized that the churches must not allow philanthropy to become a substitute for religion instead of an expression of it. He declared:

> Jesus Christ is the only Saviour either of society or of the individual, and all efforts at social amelioration, therefore, of whatever kind, should be made tributary to the supreme result of bringing all men under the law of Christ and into vital relations with him.[172]

For this reason, religion and reform were one. All who joined the local alliance need not agree in creed, but must agree as to the ends and the means, must agree that the scope of the work included the body and the soul of man. The Reverend George W. Mead in his book, Modern Methods in Church Work. The

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171. Josiah Strong, "Local Alliance," The American Journal of Sociology, 1:173-4 (Sept., 1895).

172. Ibid., 171.

Gospel Renaissance, praised the plan as "a very simple and comprehensive one."[173]

Leaflets were prepared and distributed giving brief reasons for the formation of local alliances, suggesting definite lines and methods of work.[174] Strong wrote in April, 1895, to Colonel Benjamin Aycrigg that the work had already been successfully begun and the outlook was favorable for the organized cooperation of churches to achieve needed reforms in fulfillment of the church's mission.[175] It was during the month of December, 1895, however, that Strong gave publicity to his new program by articles in the religious press explaining the "needed movement."

What was needed most, according to Strong's articles, was a coordination of the multiplicity of efforts for reform in an organization that would increase efficiency and could

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[173] Ibid., 178-9; see Christianity Practically Applied, 1:257. Strong stated that those who even question the existence of God could feel this passion for humanity, and in 1895 he wrote that "men of all faiths and of no faith" who sympathize with the objects of the Alliance were eligible for membership; see also Mead, Modern Methods in Church Work, 332-4.

[174] Doc. XXXVII, 6; Min., Vol. 4:Apr. 25/95, 206, Feb. 27/97, 292; letter by Strong to the Reverend Ivor Thomas at Thomas, Pa., Dec. 4/95, enclosing leaflets and to Bishop W. F. Mallalieu, Dec. 11/95 in Scrapbook, Vol. 4.

[175] Letter by Strong to Colonel B. Aycrigg, Apr. 3/95, a note attached to letter stated that the Colonel died on Feb. 2, 1895; see also letter by Strong, no date, but after April, 1895, stating "time was ripe" for enlargement of work, in Scrapbook, Vol. 4; also Min., Vol. 4: April 26/94, 161, "new lines of work" were suggested in a report by Strong; May 10/95, 212, Strong was on a committee to consider enlargement of work in direction of applied Christianity.

"bring the Christian conscience of the state and the nation to bear with ease and effect on every reform which demands legislation."[176] A constitution was suggested for this organization, or local alliance, which emphasized that the principles of Christ's teachings were to be applied to all social problems.[177] Moral reforms were staggering because the popular conscience was not roused to their support. The organization suggested by Strong was to be the means of expressing the Christian conscience already existing in the churches, which in December, 1895, he was sure was sufficiently aroused. It was now time for action.[178]

The plan was praised by The Evangelist, The Christian Advocate, The Southern Presbyterian, The Union Signal and World's White Ribbon, The Christian Work, The Kingdom, and The Christian Mirror. The Christian Work called the plan one aiming at a

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176. Josiah Strong, "The Churches and Reforms," Christian Advocate, Dec. 26/95 and "A Needed Movement," Examiner, Dec. 26/95 in Scrapbook, Vol. 5.

177. Examiner and New York Observer, Dec. 26/95 in Scrapbook, Vol. 5.

178. Christian Advocate, Dec. 26/95 in Scrapbook, Vol. 5. A question arises as to the connection, if any, between Strong's new program and the organization set up by the Reverend Walter Laidlaw in New York City in 1894. Laidlaw was secretary of the alliance for Troy, and an annual member of the Alliance until 1893. The purpose of Laidlaw's organization was almost identical with that of Strong of 1895. B. O. Flower, liberal editor of The Arena, also started an organization in the early 1890's to unite clergy and lay reformers, called the Union for Practical Progress, see Abell, Urban Impact, 102.

union of all the social agencies in every community, such as civic leagues, temperance groups, charity organizations and law and order leagues. The article appeared in German in the Cleveland Kirchenzeitung for December 31, 1895.[179] Approval was given the plan by Bishops Mallaleieu, Hurst, Ninde, Vincent and by pastors F.E. Clark, Parkhurst, Stoddard and Gladden. President Andrews of Brown University thought the new movement "might easily prove a new Reformation more important than the original one."[180] Some adverse criticism of the plan was expressed out of fear of the political complications that might arise from a union of evangelical churches in social work. Some criticism simply denied that the church as an institution had anything to do with social work and moral reforms. Fully aware of such criticism, Strong found it necessary in January, 1896, to repeat that the radical ill of society was sin and "that its removal is the only radical remedy of social evils."[181]

Hundreds of applications for documents explaining the new movement for interdenominational church cooperation and leadership in social reform were received by Strong from forty-three states by February, 1896.[182] Strong felt that he had labored nine years to prepare the way for this movement and to mature these plans. The importance of the new plans could not easily be exaggerated for

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[179] Examiner, Christian Advocate, and Southern Presbyterian for Dec. 26/95; Union Signal, Jan. 2/96, Christian Work, Jan. 9/96, Kingdom, Feb. 7/96, Christian Mirror, Feb. 8/96 in Scrapbook, Vol. 5.

[180] Letter by Strong to the Reverend Ivor Thomas, Dec. 4/95 in Scrapbook, Vol. 4; see also Christian Advocate, Dec. 26/95 in Scrapbook, Vol. 5.

[181] Doc. XXXVII, 5; criticism in Southern Presbyterian, Dec. 26/95, Scrapbook, Vol. 5.

> Their success will put the molding of the new century's civilization into the hands of the churches. If this movement should fail, the churches will miss the great opportunity of many generations.[183]

Yet during 1896 Strong was able to spend less than six weeks in actually organizing local alliances, "because of his many and varied duties, including foreign and domestic correspondence."[184] During 1896 and 1897 Strong gave his time toward securing some permanent provision for arbitration between the United States and Great Britain. With other members of the Alliance, though not using its name, he organized an arbitration conference in Washington, D.C., in March, 1896. In early 1897 he worked in behalf of the arbitration treaty then before the Senate, sending more than 50,000 letters, "without expense to the treasury of the Alliance," to pastors in larger cities besides several thousand to leading citizens in every state in the Union and representing various professions.[185] During the spring of 1896, however, Strong did visit towns and cities in the West and organize alliances in Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, Kansas, and Oregon.[186]

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[182] Kingdom, Feb. 7/96 in Scrapbook, Vol. 5; letter by Strong, no date, states documents were received from forty-four states and one territory, Scrapbook, Vol. 4.

[183] Letter by Strong, no date, no addressee, asking prominent men to write articles on the Alliance, saying he had received hundreds of applications in Scrapbook, Vol. 4.

[184] Strong asked for the assistance of a field secretary, Russell having left in the spring of 1893, see Annual Report of the Evangelical Alliance, Document Thirty-eight, January, 1897, 16.

In his efforts and plans to arouse the evangelical churches to an appreciation of their social mission, Josiah Strong repeatedly faced the same situation. Enthusiasm soon became indifference because of a lack of understanding of the new social spirit needed. In 1895, Strong interpreted the multiplicity of reform movements as an indication that a greater understanding of the social crisis had developed on the part of many Christians. He felt that the great need of the moment was coordination and direction of these social reform movements by the churches. Once again he was disappointed, because of his faith in a popular Christian conscience which apparently did not exist. The failure of reform movements was not their lack of organization or of a medium of expression. Their failure was caused by the lack of popular interest in steadfastly working for the realization of reforms. Strong increasingly believed that the major need was an educated public opinion and a quickened Christian popular conscience. Strong made this the goal of his efforts during his last year and a half with the Evangelical Alliance.

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[185] Doc. XXXVIII, 3; see also Annual Report of the Evangelical Alliance, Document Thirty-nine, January, 1898, 4; see also letters by Strong in Scrapbook, Vol. 4 and Miscellany, Vol. 6.

[186] Min., Vol. 4: April 10/96, 255, May 22/96, 264; see also Doc. XXXVII, 16.

In these years he stressed the idea that a deeper social conscience was developing in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Society was not a mere aggregation of human beings but an organism, living one vast life of which every man is a part. The recognition and appreciation of the fact that life was becoming more and more one life was the significant concept in the emergence of a world movement which marked the beginning of a new era. Characteristic of the new era of social consciousness was a new sense of social obligation, of social duties. The church needed to define and reenforce these new moral obligations. It must develop the social-conscience, lay on it the social teachings of Jesus, and then reforms would follow.[187] These were the terms in which Strong addressed the churches in 1896-1897. A call for a Quiet Day, expressing these needs, was sent out to pastors asking them to meet in prayer and conference on November 17 to prepare "for the campaign of the coming winter," because of the seriousness of the times.[188]

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187. Doc. XXXVIII, 13; Josiah Strong, "The Signs of the Times and the Churches," Charities Review, 6:13 (March, 1897).

188. Doc. XXXVIII, 12-14; the Quiet Day was praised by the Evangelist, Nov. 12/96, Methodist Protestant, Nov. 4/96, Occident A Presbyterian Family Newspaper, San Francisco, Nov. 5/96, Christian Mirror, Portland, Oct. 31/96 in Miscellany, Vol. 6.

Writing in March, 1897, Strong declared that Christianizing the social conscience meant proclaiming that the laws of service and love were binding in the sphere of capital and labor, showing that Christ laid down the fundamental laws on which the science of sociology could be built, uniting religion and philanthropy. He warned, "It is quite possible for society to be well governed, well housed, well educated, and, at the same time, well rotted."[189] The churches must join hands in Christian work or else they would lose the opportunity of ages, and the transformation of civilization which the churches through cooperation could effect in a single generation would be retarded for centuries. Strong was confident that the church would see and seize her opportunity.[190]

As surely as Strong was convinced that the churches would accept their social mission and opportunity, he was determined to do all that he could to bring it to realization. What he called A New and Improved Movement was inaugurated in 1897 to educate public opinion and the popular conscience "in any needed direction." As early as 1893 in his The New Era, Strong had sketched such a plan in broad outline. He regarded this new movement as "the generic reform." He wrote:

> if public opinion were what it ought to be concerning any reform, moral, social, political or industrial; and if the popular conscience were educated up to

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[189] Strong, "Signs of Times," Char. Rev., 15.

[190] Ibid., 12.

> acting on an enlightened public opinion, the needed reform would speedily be accomplished.[191]

Leaflets were to be prepared on subjects of reform by eminent clergymen, educators, jurists, editors, statesmen, under the title "Truths for the Times." Great care was to be taken in securing literature of the highest standard, adapted to every class, because, as Strong stressed, the value of the work would ultimately depend on the value of the literature. He declared, "It is to be no goody-goody stuff, more likely to reach the waste-basket than the conscience and the heart; but strong, incisive, bright, attractive and thoroughly healthy."[192] The popular intelligence was to be convinced of the multiplied and closer relations of society and the popular conscience made to accept the resulting new obligations. It was the many who were indifferent to reforms, not the few who favored or opposed them, to whom Strong directed his new movement.

Once again hope was placed in a new method of reaching and arousing the indifferent. Not only the clergy but individual Christians in their homes were to be reached with the social gospel. The work was to be accomplished through various young people's organizations--Christian Endeavor Societies, Epworth Leagues, Baptist Unions, Luther Leagues--all evangelical in

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191. Doc, XXXIX, 4; typed report presenting scheme in Scrapbook, Vol. 4; see New Era, 311-313.

192. Typed report in Scrapbook, Vol. 4, also letter by Strong to someone in Pennsylvania who had been addressed on the new movement, no date, no addressee.

their theology, which were to deliver leaflets monthly. Strong believed that the Christian Endeavor Societies were peculiarly adapted to this kind of work, because they were within the churches and at the same time interdenominational. Pastors were to district their communities, twelve to fourteen families in a district, to decide on the line of work to be prosecuted to procure the literature, to assign the young people, one to each district, and to begin the work of systematic distribution.[193] Significant is the fact that the work was to be carried to the family in the home. Strong had always emphasized that the home was the central influence in society. This method, once inaugurated, would be equally available for distinctly religious work or for any needed reform.

The new movement was not only to educate the indifferent, but also to provide a medium through which the educated public opinion could be quickly and effectively brought to bear on legislation. State organizations or alliances were to be set

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193. Doc. XXXIX, 5; the cost of printing and distributing the leaflets was of major concern to Strong. He calculated in January, 1898, that in a city of 10,000 where there would probably be about ten churches, 2,000 leaflets would suffice at $2.50 per thousand, making the expense not far from fifty cents per church. With a community divided into districts of ten to twelve families each, it would cost the distributing messenger only three cents or four cents per month even if he paid for the leaflets himself; see Doc. XXXIX, 5, also letter by Strong, Jan. 5/98 in Scrapbook, Vol. 4, and announcement Jan. 26/98 that permanent arrangements had been made for printing the leaflets which would be sent, postage prepaid, 100--35¢, 500--$1.75, 1000--$3.50, 2000 or more at $2.50 per thousand plus the cost of transportation.

up to direct the new work. Such a medium Strong felt would ultimately be used to bring legislation under the control of the intelligent and Christian conscience of the state. It would be, in effect, the referendum and be morally certain to determine the action of the people's representatives.[194]

During the summer of 1897 Josiah Strong presented his new plan to five cities in California--San Francisco, Los Angeles, Pasadena, Pomona, San Bernardino--having been invited in May to present the movement to the Annual Christian Endeavor Convention in San Francisco.[195] Strong reported that the pastors of the cities visited decided to act on the suggestions made and appointed committees to that end. By January, 1898, thousands of leaflets had been sent to California.[196] Strong directed his efforts chiefly to the organization in Pennsylvania, however. He visited twenty-five cities in that state. With only a single exception, the pastors voted to undertake the work. As the result of Strong's efforts, an Alliance convention was held in Harrisburg, November 16-18, 1897, to establish a state organization in the interests of

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194. Doc. XXXIX, 8; report in Scrapbook, Vol. 4; Sanford, Hist. of Alliance, 94; Wallace N. Jamison, "A History of the Evangelical Alliance for the United States," unpublished doctoral dissertation, Union Theological Seminary, 1946, 93.

195. Min., Vol. 4: March 29/97, 299; Doc. XXXIX, 5; letter by Strong, no date, no addressee, to someone in Pennsylvania to whom the plan had been presented, in Scrapbook, Vol. 4.

196. Doc. XXXIX, 5.

this movement for the education of public opinion.[197] A state organization was set up with the Reverend Charles Webb, secretary of the Evangelical Alliance for Philadelphia, as state secretary. The resolution adopted showed clearly the character of the new movement. A state committee of not less than twenty-five representing the state geographically and denominationally was to be appointed to promote

> the cooperation of the Churches of Pennsylvania for the better accomplishment, in the name of Christ, of their great mission in behalf of good citizenship, the enforcement of law, the promotion of sobriety, the prevention of cruelty, the alleviation of suffering, the correction of injustice, the rescue of the unfortunate, the reformation of the depraved, and for such kindred ends as pertain to practical religion and the social duty of the Church.[198]

The convention had, in effect, resolved to demonstrate that there was a unity of the sacred and secular, that religion and reform were one.

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197. In a letter to a pastor in Pennsylvania, May 22/97, Strong told of his intention of visiting cities in Pennsylvania before the summer vacation and that he would like to meet with pastors of this community. He stressed that the suggestions made would involve no new burden or work for the pastors. See also letter to Pennsylvania pastor, Nov. 12/97, announcing the Harrisburg convention and that the pastors of 15 cities had pledged cooperation and a copy of the provisional program of the meeting listing Strong and L. T. Chamberlain as speakers in Scrapbook, Vol. 4; Strong gave an account of the Alliance campaign in Pennsylvania and was authorized to cooperate with Dr. Webb, see Min., Vol. 4:Jan. 8/97, Nov. 20/97, 310.

198. Doc. XXXIX, 6.

The response to the new movement was gratifying. The plan was announced to the public in December, 1897, and within a month Strong reported that hundreds of applications had been received for sample leaflets and for particulars concerning the plan. The United Society of Christian Endeavor and other young people's groups were in hearty sympathy with the movement.[199] Strong received letters from eminent Americans congratulating the Alliance on the value of the plan and the possibilities of the work. Praise was received from Charles D. Warner, Charles W. Eliot, president of Harvard University, George W. Cable, Abram S. Hewitt, Professors Jesse Macy, Herman E. VonHolst and Woodrow Wilson, the Reverend William R. Huntington and Bishop John H. Vincent. A Committee on Leaflets was established and apparently in answer to its request many prominent men of the day expressed willingness to contribute to the literature of the movement, among them John R. Commons, Seth Low, E. B. Andrews, E.J. James (president of the American Academy of Political Science), Washington Gladden, Woodrow Wilson, Edward Everett Hale, Carl Schurz and Richard Watson Gilder, editor of Century Magazine.[200]

The first leaflets to be printed were those in the "Good Government Series"--a manual of good citizenship and a digest of the laws of Pennsylvania affecting public morals.[201] Strong intended a digest to be prepared for each of the states to be followed by another leaflet giving the duties of officials and their oaths of office. He believed that if such leaflets were scattered by the hundred thousands, they would lead to the better enforcement of law. Leaflets were to be prepared in foreign languages by pastors of the various nationalities. By January, 1898, a half-dozen leaflets had been prepared.[202] By May 5, 1898, some 50,000 leaflets on good citizenship had been issued "better adapted to the average man and within the comprehension of every citizen." Strong declared that the first had been published to appeal to clergymen and editors "on whom we had to rely to interest the churches and the general public."[203] Another digest of state laws similar to that done for Pennsylvania was also being prepared.

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[199] Doc. XXXIX, 5; letters by Strong, Jan. 5/98 and May 5/98 in Scrapbook, Vol. 4.

[200] Typed sheet of opinions, Jan. 15/98 in Scrapbook, Vol. 5; Min., Vol. 4:Dec. 31/97, 311-312.

In the last chapter of his work, The Twentieth Century City, which was published in March, 1898, Strong outlined in detail his plan for systematic distribution of leaflets. This significant work, which Professor Arthur Meier Schlesinger has called "a sociological analysis of the impact of the city on American life," not only discussed the causes and implications of the rapid urbanization of the time, but posed the problem it presented to the church. Essentially this was the need of fostering an intellectual and moral development which would balance the material development implicit in urban society. Such intellectual and moral development could come only from an enlightened public opinion and an aroused popular conscience. Subjects such as the Kingdom, laws of service, sacrifice and love, and city evangelization were not discussed in detail in this volume as they had been in The New Era. City government and social reforms were the two major problems needing the immediate saving grace of the social gospel and it was Strong's purpose in The Twentieth Century City to direct the attention of the church to a practical solution of these two problems.[204] Strong made plain to the church its obligation to "teach" the indifferent and to save society. To teach meant more than to preach this message of social duty to those who came to hear. To teach meant also to carry the message to the indifferent and to present them with specific opportunities for applying their faith. Said Strong, "Neither to society nor to the individual can the duty of the churches be done vicariously."[205] The systematic distribution of leaflets was the solution to the problem in his opinion. The principle of personal contact would be used in the distribution of leaflets to the home and the principle of organization would be found in the cooperation of pastors in districting the state for the distribution of the material and, if necessary, in directing the opinion aroused. For the first time, Strong suggested the direction of this aroused public opinion to influence legislation by petition or referendum. Strong came increasingly to stress the importance of legislation, significantly and essentially by "saved" men. By 1913 he was demanding scientific legislation, that is, legislation based on good laws that had proved workable elsewhere.[206] Although Strong made sure to assert that "the world can never be saved from misery until it is saved from sin,"[207] he saw it to be vitally necessary for the church to take steps to save society as well as to eradicate sin. Strong believed that in The Twentieth Century City he showed the church the urgent need as well as the sure method of accomplishing the reforms demanded by the social gospel and

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[201] Min., Vol. 4: Nov. 22/97, 310; and letter by Strong, March 10/98 in Scrapbook, Vol. 4.

[202] Note in Scrapbook, Vol. 4, Jan. 29/98 that the Committee on leaflets had submitted to the Executive Committee names of one Italian and one Bohemian pastor to prepare leaflets in their own language.

[203] Letter by Strong, May 7/98, also letter by Strong, Feb. 25/98 on the use of leaflets by a group in Kansas devoted to Christian citizenship and letter by Strong, Jan. 6/98, to an editor in Scrapbook, Vol. 4.

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[204] Josiah Strong, The Twentieth Century City (New York, 1898), on intellectual and moral development, 29, 55, 66, 72, 76, on city government and reforms, 67, 82, and chapters 4, 5. This work will be cited hereafter as 20C City. See also Arthur Meier Schlesinger, The Rise of the City (New York, 1933), 449.

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205. 20C City, 146, 138, 150.

206. Ibid., 175-8; see also Josiah Strong, Our World. The New World-Life (New York, 1913), 91, 198, 226-7. This work will be cited hereafter as World-Life.

207. 20C City, 121, 147.

the mission to save the twentieth century city. By 1900 the book had a circulation of 15,000. In 1908 the principal of a high school in Grand Rapids, Michigan, wrote Strong that he had used the book in his civics classes "until many a copy" had been "literally used up."[208]

Josiah Strong was now in the midst of a new movement which seemed to be gaining momentum. Writing in May, 1898, he declared that he had presented his new program to more than 600 pastors in thirty or more cities; "without a single exception they have approved it, and with one exception have pledged themselves to undertake it."[209] At this juncture came Strong's resignation--on May 19, 1898--as General Secretary of the Evangelical Alliance! Men of influence and authority were preparing leaflets for his new program, young people's societies had pledged their hearty support, pastors and editors were responding to his call, but the Evangelical Alliance decided "hereafter" to "limit itself to the policy and scope of work in which it was engaged at the time of its incorporation under the Laws [*sic*] of the State of New York in 1885."[210] After twelve years of association, the

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[208] Jesse B. Davis to Strong, June 24, 1908, in E. Strong Collection; for reviews of 20C City see Municipal Affairs, 2:306-7 (June '98), Annals of the American Academy of Political Science, 14:259 (Summer '99), Dial, 25:74 (Aug. 1'98) also see Josiah Strong, Expansion Under New World-Conditions (New York, 1900), page opposite title page lists number of copies. This work will be cited hereafter as Expansion.

[209] Letter by Strong, May 5/98 in Scrapbook, Vol. 4.

[210] Min., Vol. 5:May 6/98, 9, Library of the National Council of Churches of Christ in America.

Alliance now rejected the social program of Strong! Strong had enthusiastically inaugurated and pushed his new movement for education and reform, although approval of the movement on the part of the Alliance was conspicuously absent from the first days of the leaflet campaign outlined in 1897. The lack of enthusiasm seems to have been based partly on concern for lack of funds as well as disapproval of Strong's social program itself.

Recognition of some dissent within the Alliance was evident in Strong's note of May 19, 1897. In calling for a meeting of the Executive Committee, he declared:

> It is a favorable time to review the situation and seriously consider the future. The question is raised whether the experiment which we have tried during the past ten years should not be brought to a close. Radical changes will be proposed. The best wisdom of the Committee will be needed and the largest possible attendance is urged.[211]

At the Executive Committee meeting the question arose as to modifying the present work of the Alliance. A committee was appointed to suggest plans under which the objects of the Alliance could best be attained "in view of the limited means of the Alliance."[212] The announcement that Strong had been invited to present his new plan before the Annual Convention of the Christian Endeavor Society in San Francisco was received by a resolution that "the matter be left to his judgment."[213] Enlisting the aid of the Christian Endeavor Society and other similar groups was the essential method of Strong's new plan! Strong attended the convention in July despite the fact that the committee on "economizing" had recommended that Strong's salary be cut to $4,000 a year starting October 1, 1897, and that the Alliance expenses for the year beginning October 1, 1897, should not exceed $6,000.[214]

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[211] Letter by Strong, May 19/97 in Scrapbook, Vol. 4.

[212] Min., Vol. 4:May 27/97, 299, and June 17/97, 302.

An essential feature of Strong's program was limited further by the Alliance when in December, 1897, the Executive Committee resolved that "to avoid misunderstanding and unfavorable criticism" the names of writers proposed by the committee on leaflets had to be approved first by the Executive Committee.[215] The budget for printing the leaflets was also restricted. The committee on leaflets could accept bids from printers for leaflets, but the Alliance was not to be involved "in any financial obligation beyond the cost of printing the needed sample copies."[216] Less than two weeks before his letter of resignation, Dr. Strong wrote asking for a pledge of support of money for the program, warning that it would "certainly be laid down within a few weeks unless adequate support is pledged for another year."[217]

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[213] *Ibid.*, May 27/97, 299.

[214] *Ibid.*, June 17/97, 302; In July, 1890, the Executive Committee had curtailed the freedom of the Secretaries stating that all correspondence must be submitted to it, all requests for services of Secretaries involving absence from the office must get its approval, each Secretary was to keep a diary of his engagements and submit it together with a written report of his work at each Executive Committee meeting, and also submit an outline of his probable engagements till the next meeting for approval, see *Min.*, Vol. 3:254-7; Strong had been elected president of the American Institute of Sociology in July, 1894, at Grinnell College, Iowa, and conditioned his acceptance on approval of the Executive Committee, which then thought that the work of the Institute would make increasing demands on his time hardly consistent with his work and duties as General Secretary, and he, therefore, resigned, see letter in *Scrapbook*, Vol. 4, no date.

[215] *Min.*, Vol. 4:Dec. 31/97, 311-312.

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After remarks by President Dodge and other members at the April 22 meeting of the Board of Managers, the question of the present conditions and future policy of the Alliance was referred for consideration to the Executive Committee. An informal discussion of the matter took place at an Executive Committee meeting on April 28 and after a half-hour address by Strong at the request of the committee at its May 6 meeting, the committee unanimously resolved to recommend to the Board of Managers that the Alliance in the future limit itself to the policy and scope of work in which it had been engaged in 1885.[218] The Annual Report of the Alliance in December, 1898, praised Strong's work, but said that it was thought that the special plans "for civic and religious betterment" which he desired to carry out could be "more effectively" promoted by him in an organization formed for that distinct purpose.[219]

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[216] Ibid.

[217] Letter by Strong, May 5/98 in Scrapbook, Vol. 4.

[218] Min., Vol. 5:April 22/98, May 6/98, 9.

[219] Annual Report of the Evangelical Alliance, Document Forty, December, 1898, 3.

The day after the Executive Committee passed its resolution, Strong, continuing his work as General Secretary, sent out leaflets on good citizenship.[220]

When the Board of Managers confirmed the Executive Committee's resolution, Josiah Strong had no alternative but to resign. He submitted a letter of resignation at a special meeting of the Executive Committee on May 19 and presented it to the Board of Managers on the same day.[221] A note appears in the Executive Committee minutes for May 19 to the effect that the resolution of May 6 was to be considered. The note, however, was crossed out, and instead Strong's letter of resignation read. Resolutions were adopted "gratefully" recognizing Strong's "conscientious earnestness," his "ability and devotion" and granting him a continuation of salary to August, 1898, the services of his office clerk, and the use of one of the rooms of the Alliance.[222]

Thus abruptly ended Strong's years of service and work to make the Evangelical Alliance a molding influence in a regeneration of American society. He had not only worked to establish local alliances, but had carried on other work in the interests of the Alliance. He attended conferences in

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[220] Letter by Strong, May 7/98; Scrapbook, Vol. 4.

[221] Min., Vol. 5:May 19/98, 12-13, 15, J. C. Havemeyer also resigned, 16; Jamison, Hist. of Alliance, 94.

[222] Min., Vol. 5:May 19/98, 11-12.

London and Berlin in the summer of 1888, and London in 1896. He gave lectures and addresses before various church groups--American Missionary Association in Detroit, Queens University, Kingston, Canada, World's Convention of Christian Workers, Augusta, Georgia, 1893, American Institute of Christian Sociology, Chautauqua, 1893, Institutional Church League of Boston, 1894. He prepared the programs for the Annual Week of Prayer of the Alliance while Secretary. Over the years these programs of the Week of Prayer show his increasing stress on social reform. Strong also prepared papers and addressed the New York legislators on the school issue. He arranged for the arbitration conference in 1896. He carried on all the correspondence concerning persecutions of Christians in Persia, Peru, Russia, Korea, and Turkey.[223]

Strong's letter of resignation referred to the new departure of the Alliance twelve years earlier when it believed that it had to use the power which came from cooperation to meet the demands of new social conditions. The need for cooperation and social reform was still urgent in 1898, the opportunity was inviting. The question arose as to how the need could best be met and the opportunity most fully grasped. On

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223. On Week of Prayer see Min., Vol. 3:Jan. 21/87, 63, Vol. 4:July 8/91, 12, Nov. 17/93, 130; for programs on Week of Prayer see Scrapbook, Vol. 4; on schools see New York Post, April 21/87 in Miscellany, Vol. 6; on persecutions see Min., Vol. 4:Jan. 27/93, 92, Feb. 10/93, 95, May 14/94, 166, Jan. 22/92, 42-3, Vol. 3: Nov. 1/88, 155, Feb. 27/91, 308.

this question, Strong and the Alliance had evidently disagreed. Strong stated in his letter very frankly that

> It has been known for several years that the Evangelical Alliance, in the prosecution of this work, labored under certain disabilities and limitations. The question has been raised whether it would not have been wiser to have formed a new organization twelve years ago to do the work then proposed rather than attempt to graft onto the Alliance a work which some have thought was not germane to its purpose. However that may be, it is now believed that, everything taken into consideration, the work we have in hand can, at this stage, be more effectively prosecuted under other auspices.[224]

Eight months after Strong's resignation, the Executive Committee of the Alliance, in a statement of policy, declared that it desired to strengthen Christian unity, religious liberty, and cooperation in church work. Regarding methods of cooperation, however, the Alliance was not pledged to any one procedure. Each community should decide its own course of action, since its needs and possibilities differed from those of other communities. Perhaps most indicative of its criticism of Strong's efforts in organizing work for social and religious reform was the statement that it was better to begin with a few simple ends in which Christians of a given place were thoroughly agreed "than to attempt results too greatly varied or too greatly comprehensive."[225] Strong in concluding his letter of resignation hoped that many members of the Alliance would continue to work as individuals for the program of interdenominational cooperation and applied Christianity which for twelve years he had so boldly championed. Dr. L. T. Chamberlain of Brooklyn became General Secretary agreeing to perform the duties "as a work of love and without compensation."[226] He had been president of the American Institute of Sociology in 1895 and had addressed the Harrisburg convention on the same program with Strong in November, 1897, yet was called by Jamison in his History of the Evangelical Alliance, "an ultra-conservative."

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[224] Min., Vol. 5:May 19/98, 15.

[225] Doc. XL, 5.

Following Strong's resignation the Alliance went from the consideration of great social issues to trivial matters. It did little more than supervise the Annual Week of Prayer, which after the formation of the Federal Council of Churches was given over to that body. Writing in 1915, Strong stated that most of the pastors and laymen who had taken part in the programs he proposed for the Alliance "did so not to save society but to save the church." To these the motive of the work done had been individualistic and not inspired by the motive of social Christianity. Therefore, the work of local alliances which he had started gradually died out.[227] Macfarland

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226. Min., Vol. 5: Dec. 16/98, 22; see also Jamison, History of Alliance, 96-97, Sanford, Hist. of Alliance, 95, and William H. Tolman, Municipal Reform Movements in the United States (New York, 1895), 139.

227. Josiah Strong, Our World, The New World-Religion (New York, 1915), 462-3. This work will be cited hereafter as World-Religion.

declared that the action of the Alliance in rejecting Strong's social program simply proved that Strong "was ahead of his age and outdistanced the thinking of many of his associates."[228] A close personal friend of Strong's told the New York Tribune in June, 1898, that the efforts of the Alliance were routine and too formal for Strong who was a great man, "greater in many ways than the alliance idea."[229] Years later Strong stated that although the general tenor of the Alliance had been individualistic and conservative, it had, through its conferences, campaign literature and organized house-to-house visitation, in many cities "doubtless prepared the way for the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America," even though the "organization and work" of the latter marked "a vast advance on those of the Evangelical Alliance."[230] After leaving the Alliance, Strong formed his own League for Social Service to carry on his program of educating public opinion and quickening the popular conscience.

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228. Macfarland, Christian Unity, 23.

229. New York Tribune, June 11, 1898, 5/6.

230. World-Religion, 463; see Arthur T. Pierson, Forward Movements of the Last Half Century. Being a Glance at the More Marked Philanthropic Missionary and Spiritual Movements Characteristic of Our Time (New York, 1900), 192-3, deploring the lack of effective work of the Alliance, "tho, under the leadership of Dr. Josiah Strong, there were ten years of most efficient work done in one direction, namely, that of reaching the non-churchgoers in our great cities"; Schlesinger, Rise of City, 341.

Josiah Strong came to work for the Evangelical Alliance believing that the greatest need of the time and of the church was to recognize the social problems of the age. From the very first year of his work for the organization, he stressed that what was needed most was a unity of spirit on the part of the churches. This unity of spirit, based upon a recognition of its mission to save society as well as the individual, would result in active cooperation on the part of the churches in applying the gospel to life and bringing it to the people. The method he urged was that of local alliances of churches of all denominations, working together in the same area in personal house-to-house visitation.

After two years of this work, mostly in cities, Strong decided that the plan was too complicated, since it appeared to need his personal attention and supervision or that of Field Secretary Russell. Therefore, he inaugurated a new plan of alliances. He believed that at least the simplest form--mere cooperation of the pastors in a given community, consulting to discuss problems of the area--could easily be started without help from the home office. Part of this plan was also to form county organizations, which were to encourage and aid the formation of local alliances.

During the years 1891-1892, Strong became convinced that the enthusiasm on the part of the churches for organization and reform had been a false assumption on his part. The clergy were too busy and preoccupied even to read the documents the

Alliance sent them. In his opinion, the churches had not as yet recognized their social mission and, therefore, were not ready to cooperate in its accomplishment. What was now needed was a thorough education of the clergy to the necessity and practicability of a social gospel and the Alliance methods of applying it. Hence, a campaign was started for bringing the ideas of the Alliance before seminary students, church assemblies, Chautauqua meetings, and newspapers. By the time of the Chicago Conference of the Alliance in October, 1893, Strong seemed to have little hope for the awakening of the church to a social consciousness without a great deal of prodding. Agencies outside the church were taking up her work of social reform. He continually warned the church she must awaken to the "gospel of the Kingdom" or lose the opportunity of leadership in the new sociological age. At this time Strong thought there might be hope of arousing and uniting the churches by means of interdenominational state commissions, on the order of that organized in Maine in 1890, and he succeeded in getting the Alliance to advocate the formation of such commissions in every state.

The problem of attaining and keeping church leadership in the evolving materialistic civilization was, perhaps, the thought underlying all of Strong's plans and methods, but at least certainly the plans of 1895. He now proposed uniting in a federation or alliance, under the auspices of the church, all of the reform agencies in a community, to coordinate their efforts. In this way, realizing that the church had been too slow in organizing various reform movements, he hoped to gain leadership for the church or at least for Christian principles in these reform movements. Pastors were to take part in the movement together with laymen, and the constitution of the federation acknowledged the belief in the need of applying principles based on the teachings of Jesus.

Josiah Strong had sought to teach the social gospel and to apply it through methods of personal lay effort and cooperation of churches. Personal house-to-house visitation, cooperation of clergy, organization for reform had been methods tried for applying the social gospel. After 1897 it was not so much to methods of applying as to methods of educating that Strong turned his energies. It was the urgent need of interesting both clergy and laymen in the social situation, in developing a social conscience, in creating a Christian public opinion which was the purpose of Dr. Strong's program in the last year of his work for the Alliance. This was to be done by preparing leaflets by experts of the day on current problems and by effecting their distribution through the work of young people's Christian societies directed by church pastors. It is important, however, to note that the popular conscience once aroused was to be used to bring pressure to bear on legislation. Strong wanted to do more than merely educate public opinion, but he realized that to do his work thoroughly education would have to be done first. Although the Alliance denied Strong their support at this point in the evolution of his program, this awakening of social consciousness remained the theme of his work during the days of his own organization--the League for Social Service and the American Institute of Social Service--both of which collected facts and statistics on social conditions and distributed the information. Strong's method remained essentially that of saving the institutions of society, bringing the Kingdom on earth, by reforming the individual who in order to be saved must recognize that to love God meant to serve man. His message was

> If the church really believes that her Lord is indeed "the light of the *world*," she must hold that his teachings contain light for the great problems of every generation. And if in his teachings can be found the solution of these social problems, it is for the church to find and apply that solution.[231]

Although the action of the leaders of the Alliance suggests a limited accomplishment of his ideal to this point, his work undoubtedly was influential on the local level. The methods and programs started by Strong "revealed religious and social evils, suggested remedies, and stimulated churches to work together in effecting solutions."[232] His enthusiasm and leadership resulted in the meeting of "the three most significant conferences ever held in the United States in the interest of social Christianity," namely, the Washington Conference of 1887, the Boston Conference of 1889, and the Chicago Conference

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231. *Christianity Practically Applied*, 1:250.

232. Abell, *Urban Impact*, 94.

of 1893.[233] Elias Sanford, leader in the movement for the Federal Council of Churches, wrote that Strong "was a recognized leader in activities that aroused the Churches . . . to their responsibility in community and social service," from these early years of his work as General Secretary of the Alliance until his death.[234]

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[233] Hopkins, Rise of Social Gospel, 113-114.

[234] Sanford, Hist. of Alliance, 79.

CHAPTER TWO

Strong's Social Christianity Applied: The League for Social Service and the American Institute of Social Service.

Notice of Josiah Strong's resignation from his position as General Secretary of the Evangelical Alliance appeared in both the New York Times and the New York Tribune on June 11, 1898. Both articles stated that Dr. Strong had resigned because of differences between his aims and methods and the original aims and methods of the Alliance. Dr. L.T. Chamberlain, long a trustee of the Alliance, told the Times:

> We have the highest opinion of Dr. Strong and his work, but it is not alliance work. We feel we must keep the alliance to its original purpose, namely, world-wide unity of Christian purpose and the fostering of world-wide religious liberty....In order to suit Dr. Strong's ideas and work to some extent the constitution of the United States Branch of this world organization was somewhat changed. But as years go on the work of Dr. Strong, in which we all believe, varies more and more from the original standard. Hence it seemed wise for Dr. Strong and us to separate, which we have done.[1]

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1. New York Times, June 11, 1898, 5/6; New York Tribune, June 11, 1898, 5/6.

There was speculation as to whether or not Strong would continue the work of educating public opinion and the popular conscience which he had so enthusiastically mapped out. According to a statement by a close friend of Strong quoted by the Tribune, Dr. Strong had received offers of college presidencies from three colleges. The friend stated, "One of these is a New-England institution of National reputation. I cannot tell what he may do." Strong, however, at that very time was absent from the city engaged "in obtaining support for the new movement" which he had started under the Alliance and now proposed "to carry out under another name than the Evangelical Alliance."[2]

By August 25, 1898, three months after Strong's resignation, the organization of the League for Social Service was completed. Strong called his new organization a "non-sectarian, non-partisan and non-money making" one.[3] The League was to become the organized form of effort that Strong had outlined for the Evangelical Alliance in 1886. Dr. Strong was president and Dr. William Howe Tolman was his associate as organizing secretary.[4] Dr. Tolman

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2. New York Tribune, June 11, 1898, 5/6.

3. Letter by Strong and Tolman to John S. Billings, Oct.22/98, Social Service Series, pamphlet volume 2, New York Public Library.

4. New York Times, July 18, 1898, 10/2, New York Tribune, July 18, 1898, 6/5, New York Times, Aug.25, 1898, 12/6; see also Social Service. A Monthly Review of Social and Industrial Betterment, 13:36 (Nov.-Dec., 1906). This series will be cited hereafter as S.S. The records of the League for Social Service and of its successor, the American Institute of Social Service, were carelessly destroyed years after Strong's death. The offices of the League and of the Institute were located in the United Charities Building in New York City, though for a time they had been located in Bible House, Astor Place.

had been secretary of the American Institute of Sociology in 1895 and was well known for his work with the Reverend Charles H. Parkhurst in the municipal reform movement in New York City. The New York Times commented that the League was "somewhat novel in its scope" because "instead of being conducted for its own interest or aims, seeks rather to be of aid to all organizations and persons desirous of becoming better acquainted with municipal and social questions."[5] Christian leadership in social questions and reform had been and continued to be Strong's plea. Perhaps the League for Social Service could hold that position until the church assumed its rightful place.

The first Board of Directors and Advisory Council named in the certificate of incorporation of the League clearly indicated the support given Strong's new organization by America's leading social reformers, clerical and lay. Among those associated with the League were Washington Choate, Mary L. Dickinson, Robert C. Ogden, Mary E. Sangster, Albert Shaw, Spencer Trask, Mornay Williams, Jane Addams, Robert F. Cutting, Richard W. Gilder, Washington Gladden, Edward E. Hale, Frederic D. Huntington, William R. Huntington, Alice F. Palmer, Charles H. Parkhurst, Henry C. Potter, Richard S. Storrs, and John H. Vincent. Strong assured a potential financial supporter that these individuals were "a guarantee for a progressive and aggressive conservatism,

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[5] New York Times, Jan.14, 1899, 12/7.

THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE
AT THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SERVICE

with the wise spending of money."[6] After one year of the League's existence, Strong could write that the League began the year "without funds, without equipment, without even a precedent; for the idea was something new under the sun....We end the year with 1,004 members, a good office equipment, an experienced office force, a great mass of material ... and ... if we may repeat what others say without sacrificing our editorial modesty...the recognized source of information concerning social questions."[7]

Membership in the League was urged for all individuals and groups interested in social and industrial betterment. Individual membership for a fee of one dollar a year (by September, 1899, two dollars) entitled a member to a copy of each of the leaflets issued by the League during the year, free use of the Bureau of Information, special rates for use of the Lecture Bureau and a year's subscription to Social Service, the official organ of the League. The League also made provisions for collective membership for societies, municipal membership for public officials and commercial membership for business firms. These groups, paying various membership fees, were entitled to the regular privileges of members and in addition received special reports on phases of municipal or industrial betterment in the United States and other countries. Municipal membership

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6. "Prospectus," 4,8, published in August, 1898 and included in a pamphlet of the League, League for Social Service. Second Edition (New York, 1898).

7. SS., 1:2 (Sept.'99).

was intended for mayors, commissioners and other public officials desiring expert advice on municipal matters such as public baths, parks and playgrounds, vacation schools and summer camps. By supplying information on improved dwellings, educational classes, baths, improved sanitation and recreation, the League also hoped to help its commercial members to answer the question "What more than wages is due employees?"

By September, 1899, the League had members in nineteen countries outside the United States including Mexico, New Zealand, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Japan, China and Russia,[8] with a total of 842 annual members, 140 sustaining and 22 collective members. Membership steadily grew as illustrated by the yearly financial reports of the League. The total receipts increased from $4,164 in 1899, to $4,397.50 in 1900, to $15,453 in 1902. Returns from sustaining memberships jumped from $3,315, in 1899, to $3,692.50 in 1900, and to $13,446 in 1902. The addition of commercial membership in 1900 added $574 to receipts ($25 per firm) which amount increased to $1,575 in 1902.[9] It was hoped that the League would prove to be self-supporting from its membership dues. With the continued expanded services of the League, however, this did not prove to be the case. Although Strong and Tolman "were willing to make the sacrifice of practically going without a salary" and gifts from generous friends had helped to meet expenses, at the end of three and a half years it was necessary to reorganize the League because of lack of funds.[10]

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[8] "Prospectus," 5; S.S., 1:4-6 (Sept.'99), Annual Report; see also letter from the Reverend William R. Huntington to Strong, Aug.25/99, renewing membership for Grace Church, New York City, and doubling the fee that had been sent the previous year, hoping others would do likewise, S.S.,1:4 (Sept.'99).

[9] Financial Reports: S.S.,1:7(Sept.'99); 2:5(Sept.'00); 5:58 (Sept.'02).

Josiah Strong had become convinced during the last years of his work for the Evangelical Alliance that men, if they were taught the social gospel and made aware of existing social wrongs, would be eager and ready to correct those evils by applying Christianity and by demanding measures of reform. The primary purpose of the League, therefore, became that of educating the popular conscience, awakening public opinion and affording a medium for its quick and effective expression. Strong believed that an enlightened and quickened public opinion was "the generic reform" from which "must come every needed reform, whether moral, political, industrial or social."[11] New methods were to be tried and new groups to be reached and

> From the very first . . . plans were made and departments outlined, which while not expedient to develop at the outset, made a broad foundation for future as well as present work.[12]

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[10] S.S., 5:99 (March '02); 2:3 (Oct.'00). Gifts made Tolman's trip to Paris possible.

[11] "Prospectus," 5.

[12] S.S., 11:113 (Oct.'05).

The many and varied efforts of the League were conceived in their entirety from the beginning of the organization. During Alliance days, Strong had sought to convince especially the clergy of the truth and timeliness of the social gospel. The efforts of the League from 1898 to 1908 showed a marked shift of emphasis from addressing solely church groups to preaching to all groups in all fields of work - laborers, business men, teachers, clerics. The League was to be above all else an educational agency and an agency for voicing and putting into action that public opinion which it had educated with social gospel principles. Its first task was to continue the very basic work which had been started by Strong in the winter of 1898 - preparation and distribution of Truths for the Times.[13]

The general purpose of Strong's new organization, the enlightenment of the popular conscience and public opinion to the general need for reform, by the summer of 1899 was being carried out by directing attention to programs particularly of social and industrial betterment or "social engineering." Efforts toward arousing industrial corporations to the need and practicability of providing good working and living conditions for their employees as the only Christian solution as well as the only basic solution of the threatening labor problem of the period increasingly overshadowed all other programs of the League at the turn of the century. Through the factual material on social progress which the League was to gather, it hoped to act as a social clearing-house whereby progressive commercial firms all over the country might exchange ideas on industrial problems and solutions.[14] An appropriate slogan used by the League to express its purpose and service was "Giving to All the Benefit of the Experience of Each."[15]

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[13] "Prospectus," 5.

Another function which the League wished to perform was that of maintaining administrative machinery readily available for use by individuals and organizations seeking to focus effort when a necessity arose for concerted action. This would save time and energy which otherwise would be used unnecessarily in setting up new organizations for each new emergency, reform or national disaster. Strong felt that "the League for Social Service, through its individual and co-operating members in all parts of the country," would be an organization quiescent until the need arose to use it; then it could be "energized instantly."[16] The League did perform just such a service for the various groups fighting the seating of a Mormon representative in Congress in 1899. A variation of this service was the organization on request in the spring of 1899 of "Our Animal Protective League" with the purpose of educating children in the care and kindly treatment of animals.[17]

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[14] S.S., 1: back cover (July '99); 2: back cover (Feb.'00); 3: back cover (Jan.'01); also see New York Times, Jan.14, 1899, 12/7.

[15] SS., 5: front cover (Jan.'02).

[16] S.S., 1:2 (Oct.'99), editorial by Strong.

The methods used by Strong to accomplish the aims of the League were all innovations, in comparison with those used during Alliance days, with the exception of the publication of the series of leaflets on current issues. The agencies or services of the League were a Bureau of Information, Lecture Bureau, Museum of Social Economy, numerous exhibits, and the magazine, Social Service. When Dr. Strong in 1886 had originally planned the social program of the Evangelical Alliance, he had stressed as an essential feature the gathering of facts of social reform and their distribution by means of a Bureau of Information, a social clearing-house. Such an agency for coordinating and hastening efforts of reform --religious, social, industrial-- was never established during the Alliance period. It was made, however, an important department and method of the League.

The multiplication of reform organizations, many of them over-lapping, provided a powerful argument for a clearing-house of social information by 1898. Since Strong's first proposal in 1886, others had come to demand such an agency. In 1895, Dr. Tolman had indicated the great need for such a clearing-house in the area of municipal reform in his guide to the Municipal Reform Movements in the United States.[18] The Union for Practical Progress had been organized during this same period by B.O.Flower of Boston as a means of avoiding duplication in the activities of the various organizations engaged in humanizing work.[19] The League's Bureau of Information and Research hoped to popularize efforts in the field of social and industrial betterment that already had been successful. It sought to create greater efficiency in the reform movement. It aimed to be a point of contact for all the groups which sought to make their communities better places in which to live, such as Christian Endeavor societies, granges, labor unions, literary circles, pastors' aid societies, women's clubs, working girls' clubs, YMCA's, charity organizations, patriotic societies, and village improvement clubs. Each local society belonging to the above named organizations was urged to establish a "Social Service" department or committee with which the League might correspond. For a fee of two dollars, the group could maintain a cooperating membership receiving one copy of each of the leaflets published by the League during the year and the right to use the resources of the Bureau of Information. The League declared:

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[17] S.S.,1:13 (Sept.'99), Annual Report.

[18] Tolman, Municipal Reform Movements in the United States,9.

> We are beginning to learn that physical, intellectual and moral ills are about as closely interrelated as are body, soul and spirit, and that the evils in one sphere cannot be removed so long as the ills in the other remain. The League for Social Service aims ultimately to become a

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[19] Municipal Reform Movements in the United States, 161-2.

> connecting link by means of which the various organizations in a community, aiming at social betterment, may act together for the accomplishment of ends which more or less directly concern them all.[20]

The successes and failures of various reform groups were to be made known to all groups interested in reform. Energy and time were to be conserved through making the experience of the past readily available.[21]

Requests for information came to the Bureau from places as far distant as Russia and Japan. Captains of industry, business men, authors, teachers, ministers and politicians used the special reports of conferences, the reprints of timely articles and the descriptive bibliographies prepared by this social clearing-house. The Bureau became a means of establishing direct relations between those seeking special information and the recognized leaders in various fields of activity.[22] An official of the Prussian government, studying workingmen's housing in the United States, had his itinerary and letters of introduction to city officials and industrialists prepared by the League. The Grand Rapids Gas Light Company, the American

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20. Social Service. Series C. Education (New York, no date), 3, 5.

21. New York Tribune, July 18, 1898, 6/5; "Prospectus,"6,7; Josiah Strong, "Why the League for Social Service," S.S.,5:43 (Feb.'02).

22. S.S.,5:49 (Feb.'02).

Tool Works Company of Cincinnati, the Century Company, Bookmen of Schenectady, and the J. Capps and Sons, woolen manufacturers, of Jacksonville, Illinois, were a few of the many industrial concerns that sought help from the League.[23] That the League's services were being used to serve the whole of man - soul, mind and body - as Strong had so much hoped, was soon evident by the variety of topics on which the Bureau of Information was requested to supply data. Questions were asked on all the vital issues of the day, namely, the city, capital and labor, social problems, and religious issues.[24] Recognizing the necessity and value of following social movements and progress in foreign countries as well as in America, the League secured the services of special correspondents - ambassadors, economists, publicists, statesmen, professors, editors, industrialists - in all the important countries. Among those countries in which the League had correspondents were England, France, Austria-Hungary, Scotland, Ireland, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, Belgium,

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23. *S.S.*, 1:2 (Nov.'99); 5:49 (Feb.'02); on the Prussian government, *S.S.*, 5:145-6 (May '02); on aid to other officials, 5:161, 163 (June '02); on industry, 3:25 (Jan.'01); on women's clubs, 4:6 (Dec.'01).

24. *S.S.*, 1:11-12 (Sept.'99); 2:2 (Sept.'00). The questions answered on the city included those on immigration, government, housing, law enforcement, city improvement and the growth of the city. Questions answered on labor included arbitration, profit-sharing, trusts, poor relief. Those answered on social problems included juvenile criminals, education, food reform, immoral literature, illiteracy, public baths. Those answered on religious issues included Christian Science, Theosophy, church finances, non-attendance at church and the problems of the down-town church.

New Zealand and Japan.[25] Sidney Webb was among the contributors from England.

Any interest shown by the League's members in the issues of the day was capitalized upon by its Lecture Bureau, a new agency and method for educating the popular conscience. Individuals or groups desiring to present a lecture or a report on almost any current topic found ready help from the lecture division of the Bureau in the selection of topics and speakers or the provision of prepared bibliographies, written lectures, and slides. The Bureau prepared lecture material at the request of interested persons or groups and without a fee for regular members. The League felt that its services along these lines would make the difference between success and failure in these undertakings.[26]

In April, 1899, the League conducted "a social revival week" in Trenton, New Jersey. At each nightly meeting, Strong presented a talk and Tolman followed with lantern slides illustrating the ideas emphasized in Strong's talk. Some of the topics discussed were: What is Christianity For, Christianity and Labor and Capital, The Rule of the People, The Conscience of the People (housing and public baths), The Twentieth Century City, A Peril (municipal house-keeping), Is Civilization a Failure (living among people), What All This Means To Trenton (Trenton photographs) and Twentieth Century Problems (modern solutions). The "revival" was considered so successful that requests for a similar series of lectures were received from Boston, Chicago, Brooklyn, St. Louis, Providence, Orange, Hartford, New Haven and Baltimore. A practical result of the Trenton project was that it led one manufacturing company to establish a model housing settlement for workers in Belle Meade, New Jersey. The League was engaged to provide for the social improvements of the settlement.[27] During the same year a course of lectures on social problems, which suggested topics and speakers, was prepared for President T.M. Drown of Lehigh University at his request.[28]

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[25] "Prospectus," 7; S.S.,5:145-158 (Sept.'02); 1:7-8 (Sept. '99) Annual Report; 2:4 (Aug.'00).

[26] S.S.,2:3 (May '00).

Visual education became an important part of the lecture program. The study of illustrations of actual conditions in industrial sections in all parts of the world was considered a new and effective method of educating public opinion. Slides illustrating the various phases of current problems could be rented at a very nominal fee. By September, 1899, 3,000 slides were available for use by college professors for courses in commercial geography, municipal politics, sociology; by mayors and public officials, for information on municipal improvements; and by village improvement societies, good citizenship organizations, labor unions, and women's clubs for the purpose of presenting the recent advances in social and industrial betterment.[29] The slides presented a variety of social subjects including institutional churches, Salvation Army, social settlements, industrial betterment, municipal improvement, education and housing. Cities in the United States and Europe represented in the topics covered were New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Buffalo, Cincinnati, Dayton, Bridgeport, Rochester, San Francisco and Essen, Delft, Amsterdam, London, Liverpool, Southampton, Glasgow, Dublin, Paris, Rouen, Milan, Florence, Rome and Brussels.[30] The League declared that the use of slides was certain to make

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[27] S.S., 5:97 (March '02); 1:13 (Sept.'99); 2:3 (April '00); 2:4 (June '00); 3:13 (Jan.'01).

[28] S.S., 1:18 (Sept.'99), Annual Report. The topics of the course were New Social and Industrial Conditions Confronting the New Century, Practical Philanthropy in New York City, Religious Movements for Social Betterment, Recreation, Social Aspects of the Saloon Problem, The Social Settlement, or, Living Among the People, and Social Engineering as a New Profession.

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29. "Prospectus," 8; New York Times, Jan.14, 1899, 12/7. Tolman stated that the League had 1,400 slides as of that date: S.S.,1:9-10,2 (Sept.'99); see also a 29 page catalogue of slides, Social Service. A Descriptive List of Lantern Slides Illustrating Movements For Social and Industrial Betterment (New York, 1905). The price of the use of slides was 35¢ per slide and $8 for a lantern operator if furnished by League, S.S., 2:4 (Jan.'00).

30. S.S., 2:5-15 (Jan.'00); 5:44 (Sept.'02).

any subject presented - reforms, annual reports, committee reports, plans for a new organization - more forceful, more interesting, and more likely to win friends. The Lecture Bureau was prepared to collect illustrative material for lectures for all needs. The French reformer, André Siegfried, requested slides from the League on principal American towns, industrial plants, lake steamers, and social institutions for his European lectures on social questions in the United States.[31]

Dr. Strong asserted that a basic problem in making public opinion intelligent and effective was the fact that many of the people did not read the press, the primary agency for creating public opinion. Those who did read it, he stated, did not believe what they read. He quoted Boss Tweed as stating "My Constituents Can't Read, but They Can All Look at Pictures."[32] Tweed had made this statement in trying to bribe cartoonist-reformer Thomas Nast with the offer of a trip to Europe. Strong emphasized that good cartoons spoke in all languages with vividness and effectiveness, and so, too, did pictures of public baths and public wash-houses. He declared that if the people of New York were given through pictures a perfectly clear and definite idea of projects of municipal betterment which had been started elsewhere, they would be "forever disgusted with Tammany rule." The cartoons that appeared in New York City papers, he continued, "if properly handled," could do more to reach and influence the constituency of Tammany Hall than tons of double-leaded editorials. Strong was especially anxious that some means be found whereby visual education could be given to the foreign voters of every large city.[33] The program of the Lecture Bureau was decidedly an effort to "Educate the Eye" and thus the popular intelligence and conscience.

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[31] S.S., 5:171 (June '02); 2:3-4 (Jan.'00); 3:3 (May'00).

[32] Josiah Strong, "Educate the Eye," S.S., 4:137 (Nov.'01).

By January, 1900, the League had developed a more effective system of showing slides by combining with the slides prepared materials suitable for reading lectures or descriptive texts of the subjects shown. Members of the League were advised which subjects would be of interest for their particular needs. References to books, pamphlets, magazines and newspapers for detailed information on the general subject of the slides were also offered by the Bureau of Information. The first of the series was a pamphlet describing 150 slides which showed the social work of the Salvation Army.[34] The League suggested

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33. Ibid., 138; S.S., 2:4, 5 (March'00).

34. S.S.,2:3 (Jan.'00); on relations between Strong and the Salvation Army see New York Times,Jan.17,1898, 1. The account relates that Strong was present as a witness at the request of Commander Ballington Booth at a reconciliation meeting between Booth and his father, General William Booth. Strong was asked how the two men acted, if the meeting had been "kindly and affectionately" and "after a moment of hesitation, Strong replied,'I think there is no harm in saying that they met kindly and affectionately'.";S.S.,1:9-10 (Oct.'99). Booth-Tucker took out a cooperating membership for the Salvation Army and gave 150 slides plus statistics and promised more slides of the work of the Army all over the world;Booth-Tucker, "Life Story of Commander Booth-Tucker,"S.S.,3:146-7 (May'01).

that each group using the slides divide a subject among ten or more persons. Each person was to be assigned a specific phase of the topic which he was to illustrate by fifty or sixty slides. To defray the cost involved in shipping the slides from the New York office, it was recommended that schools and organizations in the same area exchange slides. The League would then mention each month in Social Service the name of organizations which desired to exchange slides. It was hoped that clergymen, particularly, would be interested in this plan.[35]

Specially prepared lectures by authorities in various fields were also made available by the Lecture Department on request. In 1901, Darwin J. Meserole, manager of the Home Industry of Brooklyn, lectured on "The Problem of the Unemployed." During the fall and winter of the same year, Dr. Tolman visited forty-eight cities in twenty-four states, including Minnesota, Texas, California, Louisiana and Georgia, lecturing before Chambers of Commerce, commercial clubs, labor unions, university groups and church groups on the methods of promoting better feelings between the employer and the employed. Tolman wrote that wherever the lectures had been given the wish had been expressed that the lectureship be made permanent.[36] Believing Tolman's

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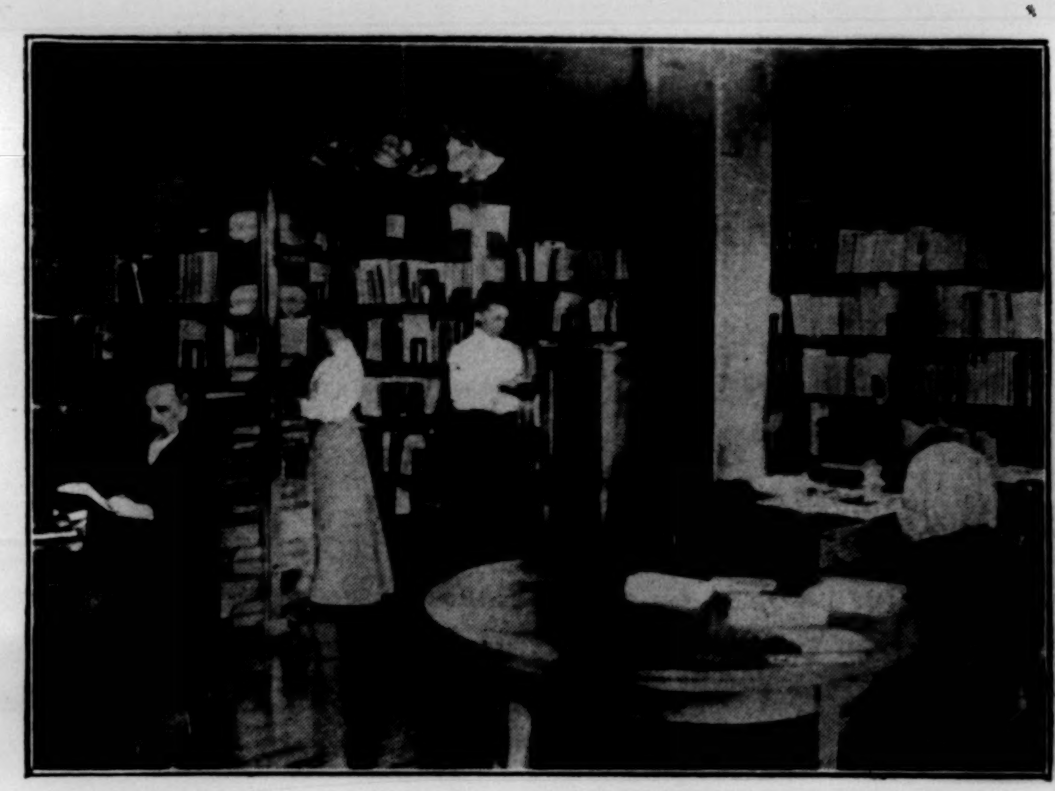
35. S.S., 2:6 (Feb.1900).

36. S.S., 3:27 (Jan.'01); S.S., 3:7 (Jan.'01). Tolman called Cleveland the city in the United States most interested in the social betterment of employees; 5:16 (Jan.02).



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trip to have been successful and recognizing more than ever that "the solutions of the industrial problem must be brought about by education," the League made an appeal in January, 1902, for $10,000 to continue the traveling lectureship through the entire year. The request, however, was not met.[37]

The program for educating the public by disseminating leaflets prepared by authorities and systematically distributed by young people's societies, which had been started under the Evangelical Alliance, was continued during the early years of the League for Social Service. About thirty-four leaflets were issued under the general title "Truths for the Times". By the end of the first year, 252,872 leaflets had been circulated; and, in October, 1899, the New York Times quoted Dr. Tolman as stating that he and Dr. Strong had made a contract to furnish one firm with 1,070,000 leaflets "calculated to benefit the working classes."[38] Professor Mary F. Furnham of Pacific University in Forest Grove, Oregon, wrote the League in November, 1899, that the leaflets had been of great service in directing the work of students in developing themes relating to current problems. She also asked if any new leaflets had been printed on prison reform or if some special topic or work could be suggested.[39]

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[37] S.S., 5:16-17 (Jan.'02).

[38] S.S., 1:11 (Sept.'99), Annual Report; New York Times, Oct.15, 1899, 8/4.

The major social problems of the day were divided into eleven series of leaflets discussing Good Citizenship, State Laws, Education for Social Service, Anti-Mormonism, Municipal Problem, Thrift, Arbitration, Child-Saving, Village Improvement, Nature Study and Civil Sabbath. In the Annual Report of the League for September, 1899, it was stated that the next series of League leaflets was to deal "with several of the great industries and professions, as affording opportunities for social service." The hope was expressed that someday a man's occupation would be the medium through which he would spend his life "for social betterment," and it was asserted that that occupation should be most attractive which would enable him to "give himself completely and fruitfully." If possible, Theodore Roosevelt was to write on politics as a career, Dr. Albert Shaw, editor of Review of Reviews, on journalism, Robert C. Ogden on business, Tolman on social engineering, Strong on the ministry, and Mary L. Dickinson on home-making.[40] Although the New York Times wrote that the League had engaged Roosevelt, Shaw and Ogden to write the leaflets, the career series did not materialize. During the next decade, Dr. Strong became ever more certain that vocations needed to be emphasized as a medium of service for social betterment and, in 1915, the American Institute of Social Service (successor to the League) prepared to inaugurate the training of young men and women for precisely such an attitude when entering the consular service and business life overseas.[41]

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[39] S.S.,2:15 (Feb.'00), letter dated Nov.1899.

[40] S.S., 1:17 (Sept.'99), Annual Report.

The topics discussed in the leaflets were presented in a simple and direct manner, since they were intended for "all degrees of intelligence" and for "all classes." Charles Loring Brace, Secretary of the Children's Aid Society, discussed the work of the Children's Aid Society of New York. The Reverend Lyman Abbott, editor of The Outlook, in a leaflet on "International Arbitration," presented his argument for a permanent judicial tribunal to preserve cooperation between the United States and England, which he saw as essential for the accomplishment of the mission of the Anglo-Saxon race in the future. A leaflet entitled Education was prepared by the League, itself, suggesting topics for lecture courses, sermons, editorials, theses and conferences. Among such topics were home rule, the value of the vote, the eight hour day, the minimum wage, Consumers' League, profit-sharing, municipal foresight, traveling libraries, the clearing-house principle as an aid in social work, employment bureaus and the use of vacant lots as farms for relief work.

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41. New York Times, Oct.15/1899, 8/4.

In its suggestions for conducting conferences and courses of study, it was evident that the League was interested in ensuring a practical and efficient approach to the achievement of reform. It hoped to discourage movements that were enthusiastic but ineffective. It cautioned groups against duplicating work done elsewhere without adapting the program to local conditions. Groups interested in reform or social service were advised to have in any plan they proposed, a definite end in view toward which all could strive in such a way as to give unity to the conference or course of work. It was suggested that "rascal" politicians as well as dedicated public officials be invited to speak, for "rascal" politicians would never reform if left alone. The League also urged that emphasis be placed on "the constructive rather than the destructive side of all social improvement, by offering the people of to-day positive work in the upbuilding of the community, and showing how to do it." Digests of the laws bearing on public morals in eight states --New York, Maine, Indiana, Iowa, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, Oregon--were prepared by August, 1900. Mornay Williams, a prominent New York attorney, prepared the one dealing with New York. It was hoped that by acquainting people with laws relating to public morals in their state they would be aroused to demand enforcement.[42]

The contributors to the series on Good Citizenship included Professor John R. Commons, Bishop Frederic D. Huntington, President E. Benjamin Andrews, Dean George Hodges, the Reverends Washington Gladden, L. T. Chamberlain, Edward E. Hale and Dr. Strong. All these authors stressed the concept of government as the responsibility of all citizens and the idea of the city as a cooperative community and a moral organization. In Commons' opinion the city needed a religious revival; cities then could be made "as powerful instruments of salvation as the churches." Gladden asserted that the church had to impress upon men that the state was "a divine institution, just as truly as is the church" and that "the service of the commonwealth is a service to which every citizen is divinely called."[43] Dr. Strong was the author of the first pamphlet in the series. He called it The New Patriotism. In it he explained that it was the indifference, the selfishness of citizens that afflicted the nation "with the bad citizenship of good men." The peril of corrupt city government could be countered by a new civic patriotism, "not one which offers itself to die for the country, but one that is willing to live for it, which is much more difficult and none the less glorious."[44] The popular conscience was to be awakened to its social responsibilities by "Truths for the Times." All phases of life--government, reform, city life --were to be spiritualized. The unity of the sacred and the secular was being fervently preached.

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[42] Charles Loring Brace, The Children's Aid Society of New York in Social Service. Series G. Child-Saving (New York, no date); Lyman Abbott, International Arbitration in Social Service. Series E. Arbitration (New York, no date); List of Topics for Lecture Courses, Sermons, Editorials, Essays, Theses, Courses for Study, Conferences and Conventions in Social Service. Series C. Education (New York, no date); Mornay Williams, Abstract of Laws Concerning the Welfare of Every Citizen of New York in Social Service. Series B. Abstract of State Laws, no.1 (New York, no date) and Walter W. Warwick, Legal Safeguards for the Protection of the Citizens of Ohio. Laws Relating to Social and Moral Questions, Ibid., no.2,2. Warwick emphasized the social responsibility of citizens.

[43] John R. Commons, The Cooperative City in Social Service. Series A. Good Citizenship, no.2 (New York, no date),8,9; Washington Gladden, The Church and the Problem of the City in Ibid., no.4,14,15-16.

During the first year of its existence, the League was used primarily as an agency for creating an informed public opinion which would demand positive action. For example, it was able, through contributions from the public and with a fund of $6,000 supplied by Helen Miller Gould, to undertake an extended campaign to unify and focalize the various efforts then being made to stamp out polygamy. The distribution of Series D. Anti-Mormonism tracts played an important part in this crusade. According to the League, it had recognized the menace of Mormonism and had issued anti-Mormon pamphlets as early as

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[44] Josiah Strong, The New Patriotism in Social Service. Series A. Good Citizenship, no.1,4,14; see S.S., 6:65-71 (Oct.'02). Although the League was being reorganized at this time because of lack of funds, Strong wrote of plans to issue more leaflets; none, however, has been discovered.

February, 1899, long before there had been any protest against the seating of a Mormon, Brigham H. Roberts, in the Fifty-sixth Congress. In December, 1898, Bishop Henry C. Potter had written the League stating that it was urgent for it to undertake its campaign "with all promptness and energy."[45] The League maintained that "some hundreds of thousands of these publications were already in circulation in the fall of 1899 when the League's distinct anti-Roberts campaign was opened."[46]

During the year 1899-1900, the League conducted a well-planned campaign to educate public opinion to stop the spread of Mormonism in the United States, to compel Congress to expel Representative Roberts, and to prepare the way for a constitutional amendment which would prohibit polygamy. Series D of "Truths for the Times" was re-issued for the anti-Roberts campaign with the addition of a leaflet on "Why Roberts Should Be Expelled from Congress." The seven leaflets in the series were written by Christian missionaries who had lived for many years in the West among the Mormons.[47] Josiah Strong, in his leaflet on

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[45] Letter of Bishop Potter was quoted in William R. Campbell, Methods of Mormon Missionaries in Social Service. Series D. Anti-Mormonism, 14 (New York, no date); see also S.S., 1:11 (Sept.'99). In the Annual Report a letter is quoted from a young woman, originally from Utah, who had distributed "thousands" of anti-Mormon leaflets in New York State in a village where she had found Mormon elders at work and now reported the Mormons had left the area.

[46] S.S., 2:2(Jan.'00).

[47] New York Times, Oct.27, 1899, 5/1; S.S., 2:5 (Sept.'00). The financial statement shows that the League received $9,000 more in contributions for its campaign.

The Political Aspects of Mormonism, emphasized that it was not polygamy which made Mormonism a political menace, but the Mormon belief that their leader spoke "with the mouth of God."[48] In Strong's opinion, the absolute control of the Mormon hierarchy enforcing its orders by threats of eternal damnation, made Mormonism "as dangerous" as it was "un-American." The politico-ecclesiastical power exercised by the leader of the Mormon church, "the most gigantic 'boss' in America," brought Mormonism "into conflict with republican institutions," he wrote, destroyed liberty and reduced its victims to "a double slavery - religious and political."[49] Roberts was attacked as "a notorious champion of polygamy, known to be living with at least three wives," despite earlier pledges by Mormon officials that all polygamous relations had been abandoned at the time of Utah's statehood. By electing Roberts, the Mormon people were "flaunting their polygamy and their covenant-breaking in the faces of the American people, and trying by indirection to compel the House of Representatives to sanction polygamy."[50]

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48. Josiah Strong, The Political Aspects of Mormonism, 5, in Social Service. Series D. Anti-Mormonism.

49. Strong, Political Aspects of Mormonism, 5,7; Strong had the same fears about Catholicism, see Our Country, chapter 5, World-Religion,203, World-Life,221; Strong also expressed the same feelings about Mormonism in 1913, see Gos. of K., 5:113 (Aug.'13).

50. Reasons Why Brigham H. Roberts Should Be Expelled from the United States Congress, no author, 4, in Social Service. Series D. Anti-Mormonism.

The campaign methods used by the League in this crusade included the systematic distribution of League leaflets by Christian Endeavor Societies, Epworth Leagues, Baptist Young People's Unions and Women's Christian Temperance Unions. Leaflets were sent free, except for express charges, to societies pledging to distribute them; some 700,000 of these leaflets were offered to the various young people's societies.[51] The League boasted that these young people's groups distributed ten tons of leaflets, making 15,000,000 pages of literature. Letters were sent by the League to a selected list of clergymen, some 59,000 in number, and to numerous officers of women's clubs and YWCA's, asking them to speak on the subject of Mormon practices, to take up collections for use in the crusade, and to urge members to write to their Congressmen. The letters also asked that signatures of voters be secured for petitions requesting the exclusion of Roberts and an amendment to the Federal Constitution outlawing polygamy. The League sent out more than 100,000 of these blank petitions. Separate petitions for each Congressional District when signed were sent by the League to the respective Congressmen of each district. Letters signed by Mary L. Dickinson, Alice M. Burney, Helen M. Gould and Margaret E. Sangster were also sent to the wife of every Congressman. The press bureau of the League supplied nearly

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[51] S.S., 1:5 (Oct.'99).

600 papers with materials and kept them informed on the progress of the campaign. The League retained as senior counsel John G. Carlisle, assisted by other lawyers in New York City and Washington, D.C. and also brought witnesses from Utah to testify in Washington. In October, 1899, headquarters were opened in Washington, D.C.[52]

The results of this intensive campaign were a triumph for the League's efforts. Not only was Roberts excluded from Congress by January, 1900, but five other prominent polygamists were removed from public office in the state of Utah.[53] The League continued its campaign after Roberts had been expelled and translated several of its leaflets into Swedish and German as a means of counteracting the work of Mormon missionaries in Europe. It intended to promote distribution of the leaflets among European peasants, especially among emigrants embarking for the United States. With such a plan in mind, the League secured the cooperation of General Booth of the Salvation Army, who wrote Strong in May, 1900, that he would inquire as to the proselytizing efforts of the Mormons when he travelled in Scotland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland and Germany. He promised to distribute the leaflets in areas where he knew Mormons were actually working.[54] The League also intended to continue working for a constitutional amendment prohibiting the practice of polygamy.

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[52] S.S., 2:2 (Jan.'00); New York Times, Oct.27, 1899, 5/1. More than 1,000,000 pamphlets had been distributed by October, 1899; S.S., 1:6 (Oct.'99). The cost of leaflets was 35¢ per 100, $1.75 per 500, $3.50 per 1000, $2.50 per 2000 or more; form of petition, 1:8-9 (Oct.'99).

[53] S.S., 2:2 (Jan.'00); 5 (Sept.'00).

In its action in the Roberts incident, the League had shown how it could live up to one of its original aims, that of focalizing individual and associative effort in a time of crisis. The success of the League's campaign appeared to have demonstrated the truth of Strong's belief that an enlightened popular conscience, given a medium of effective expression, could accomplish any needed reform. The League had served as the medium, quickly energized, through which such public opinion had been aroused and directed. Despite its success in this instance it was never again called upon to demonstrate this possible phase of its work.

One of the techniques of the League in educating public opinion was the publication of Social Service, a monthly magazine devoted to social and industrial betterment. The first few issues, published in the spring of 1899, were called Social Engineering but within a few months the title was changed to Social Service. This was considered a more suitable title because it was self-explanatory and, at the same time, it identified the periodical with the League. The monthly review sold for one dollar a year and was maintained entirely through the money received from subscriptions. The fact that major technical journals such as The Iron Age, The American Machinist, The Shoe and Leather Reporter and leading popular magazines such as the Century, Scribner's Magazine, Review of Reviews, The World's Work, The Outlook and many others were on its exchange list is evidence of the value in which the magazine was held by March, 1902.[55] It was claimed in December, 1901, that the "Bona Fide Circulation" of the Christmas Number was 37,500 copies. By July, 1904, it was being sent to Japan, Russia, Hawaii, New Zealand, Spain, Sweden, Denmark, Austria-Hungary, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, Italy, France, England and Canada.[56]

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[54] S.S., 2:14 (June '00); 5: inside cover (April '02).

The many and varied subjects discussed in featured articles in Social Service indicate the all-inclusiveness of the League's applied Christianity. Among the subjects discussed were statistics on population growth, housing conditions in towns and large cities, civic improvement, municipal ownership of public utilities , the social work of the Salvation Army and the YMCA, the labor problem in Denmark, Finland, Russia, work of the Episcopal labor organization, C.A.I.L. (Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor), the cooperative movement in the United States, France, Ireland, and Great Britain, socialism, arbitration and the Hague International Court, and the Musée Social in Paris.[57] According to the August, 1901, issue of Social Service, social and industrial benefit was the aim of the publication. The editor described it as

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[55] S.S., 5:97 (March '02).

[56] S.S., 4: inside cover (Dec.'01). A question arises concerning the first issue of Social Engineering, since the first copy available was Vol.1:July, 1899 which was classified on the printed copy as no.5, indicating that undoubtedly the publication had started four issues earlier in March. See also S.S., 10:12 (July '04).

> a unique, high-class magazine devoted to Social and Industrial Betterment. It is a record of the forward industrial movements throughout the world. It prints industrial facts, statistics and comments. . . . It is published for the employer and the employed. Every man, woman and child in this country should be educated in Industrial and Social Betterment, and keep in touch with the great social problems, now agitating the world.[58]

With the January, 1901, issue of Social Service, the title page declared that the magazine was "Devoted To Improving The Conditions of the Employed and to Social Betterment."[59] A frequent feature of the magazine were articles on social and industrial improvements

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57. For articles on population see S.S., 3:85 (June'01); on housing, 3:91 (June'01); 5:33 (Jan.'02); on civic improvements, 5:128-9 (April'02), 44-45 (Jan.'02); on utilities, 3:140-1 (May'01), 4:134-5 (Oct.'01); on social work, 2:8-11 (March'00); on the negro problem, 3:184 (June'01), 4:139-40 (Nov.'01); on labor conditions in Denmark, 4:28 (July'01), 5:28-32 (Jan.'02); in Finland, 5:137-40 (May'02), in Russia, 3:180 (June '01), 5:16 (April'02); on the C.A.I.L., 2:22-23 (March '00); on the cooperative movement, 5:17-19 (July'02), 24-5 (Aug.'02); on socialism, 5:63-5 (Feb.'02); on arbitration, 5:101-3 (March'02); on the Musée Social, 6:66 (Oct,'02), 7:25-9 (Feb.'03).

58. S.S., 4:64 (Aug.'01); see also 3:129 (April'01).

59. S.S., 3:title page (Jan.'01).

in various cities and sections of the United States. One of the subscribers to the magazine wrote that within a short time it would rank "with the best industrial reviews in this country."[60] Emphasis on social service in industry had become a major theme of the League's work at the turn of the century. In an effort, perhaps, to guard against any misconception that the magazine believed improved conditions were the answer to the social problem, Dr. Strong continually stressed in editorials and articles that the fundamental need for ultimate social salvation was a conversion of the social conscience of both employer and employee to the Christian idea of service, to the social gospel.

As a means of illustrating the practicability of applied Christianity in the economic field, industrial betterment, the League featured brief stories in its magazine about the men and business firms who believed in social and industrial betterment and had found it "to pay". The League believed that the basic truth that "altruism, sympathy, kindness" were "perfectly compatible with business" had been illustrated by such firms as the National Cash Register Company, Cleveland Hardware Company, H.J. Heinz Company, Briar Cliff Farms, Gorham Manufacturing Company, Stetson Hat Company, Westinghouse Air Brake Company, Lever Brothers and Cadbury Brothers of England and

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[60] S.S., 3:128 (April '01); see also for articles on various cities, 4:145-50 (Nov.'01), 5:70-3 (Feb.'02).

Krupp Steel Works of Germany.[61] H.A. Sherwin, president of the Sherwin-Williams Paint Company of Cleveland, was but one of the many who wrote to Dr. Tolman stating that social betterment of employees had resulted in increased economy of manufacturing, brought improved quality and enlarged output far in excess of the expense of welfare measures.[62]

Through reference to actual incidents, the readers of Social Service were repeatedly told that "tactful consideration on the part of the employer is usually met with thoughtful cooperation from the employee."[63] As a result of methods used by employers to improve the working and living conditions of their employees, such as educational classes, clubs, baths, playgrounds, summer camps, company publications and improved housing, the League had concluded that such social service tended to bring about harmony between capital and labor. The League happily reported that

> many of the employees think twice before striking, because of the knowledge that . . . much is being done for them, and, in addition, that this kind of an employer will listen to them if they have a grievance.[64]

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[61] S.S., 1:9 (Oct.'99); 2:6-14 (Feb.'00), 12-21 (March'00), 5 (Aug.'00); 3:172 (June '01); 5:8-14 (Jan.'02), 58-62 (Feb.'02).

[62] Letter to Tolman, Feb.13, 1900 in S.S., 2:16 (Feb.'00); 2:40 (March '00); 1:10-11 (Aug.'99).

[63] S.S., 2:7 (Feb.'00).

[64] S.S., 1:21-22 (Nov.'99).

Suggestions were made in Social Service by the League for improving conditions of the worker in the plant and in the home in sections entitled "What More than Wages" and "Investment in Manhood." The League advised, according to its publications, that "whatever tends to improve the life and labor of the worker" will reward the employer because:

> A more vigourous man can do more work, a more intelligent man will do more intelligent work, and a more conscientious man will do more conscientious work. It pays, therefore, to invest in the manhood of your men.[65]

Through the pages of Social Service, as well as in its other agencies, the League was attempting to do its part in meeting the labor crisis of the early 1900's. It believed that "the solutions of the industrial problem must be brought about by education."[66]

Josiah Strong did not accept the inevitability of class warfare, but instead preached a capitalism alive with the Christian spirit of service. "Progressive conservatism" was the term used by the League to characterize its position.[67] Strong told his readers in articles in Social Service, as well as in his books, that it was the selfish spirit of the economic

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65. S.S., 1:22 (Nov.'99); see also 3:2 (Jan.'01) and see 11:115 (Oct.'05) for a definition of industrial betterment by Tolman.

66. S.S., 5:16-17 (Jan.'02).

67. S.S., 2:4 (Sept.'00).

system in the United States--the motive of gain, of profit instead of service--rather than the structure of the economic system itself which caused the economic disorders of the period. He declared that the American industrial system, although based on the exchange of services, was not inspired by the spirit of Christian service, and, therefore, did not conform to the social law of service laid down by Christ.[68] Strong emphasized that "there is a radical difference between commercial service and Christian service. The object of the former is gain; the object of the latter is usefulness."[69] Social disorders, he stated, were caused by the refusal of the many "social cells" of society to obey the law of service. These groups sought not to serve society, but to make society serve them.[70] The essential evil of the American economic system, Strong declared, was found in the selfish spirit with which it was animated. He contended that this selfish spirit was easily discernable. "Does any one imagine that the common object of this struggle is the greatest usefulness?" he asked.[71]

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[68] New Era, 127-8, 133-4; see also World-Life, 95-107, World-Religion, 164-8, and Josiah Strong, The Next Great Awakening (New York, 1902), 52-73, 172, 161, 165. This work will be cited hereafter as Next Great Awakening.

[69] World-Religion, 165.

[70] S.S., 2:7 (July '00), editorial by Strong.

[71] Next Great Awakening, 163.

Strong deplored the fact that selfishness as the inspiring motive of industry had had the sanction of orthodox economic theory. Specifically he attacked as "unchristian, and, therefore, not permanent" Bentham's principle of individual enlightened self-interest and his teaching "that with certain legal restrictions the self-interest of each ~~is~~ a sufficient guide to the welfare of all."[72] He also criticized repeatedly the Manchester School of political economy, charging that its immutable laws were based on human selfishness, and, thus, made selfishnesss, itself, immutable. Such a supposition was completely contrary to Strong's religious philosophy. He wrote:

> Selfish human nature, dead in sin, can be transformed and lifted into a higher kingdom, even the kingdom of God, and thus made subject to higher laws. . . . When the kingdom of heaven is fully come in the earth, I imagine that the Manchester school of political economy will have just about as much influence on earth as it now has in heaven.[73]

Strong asserted that the laissez-faire attitude of the Manchester School was impossible in the new social organization of society.

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[72] Josiah Strong, "The Law of Service Applied to Capital and Labor," S.S., 2:9 (July '00); World-Life, 103-4.

[73] Strong, "Law of Service," S.S., 2:9 (July '00); New Era, 145. Strong rejected the idea of labor as a commodity and of its value being determined by the law of supply and demand. See also World-Religion, 234.

He held its very practice to be responsible for certain evils in the city--police graft, municipal corruption, white slave traffic, corrupt giving of franchises, political bossism. What was needed, he stated, was a new altruism that believed the basis of giving was service and not selfishness. Strong therefore urged that government aid in solving social problems, that employers help workers with more than wages, and that those blessed with plenty help others through social settlements.[74]

Strong did not attack competition as a principle in itself or as a feature of the industrial system, for he saw it as a necessary step in the evolution to a more cooperative principle. He attacked selfish competition. He did not doubt that cooperation would some day supplant competition, but he emphasized, in an article rejecting such cooperative activity as that led by the Rochdale Co-operative Society of Washington, D.C., that this higher organization of society "must come as a growth and in the natural course of things; it cannot be forced; it cannot be manufactured." Struggle, he continued, was one of the fundamental laws of nature by which life had ascended from its lowest to its highest forms, and competition had not yet completed its work.[75]

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74. World-Life, 195, 77-8.

75. Josiah Strong, "Outlook for Co-operative Communities," S.S., 8:62-3 (Oct.'03).

Competition, he believed, drove capital from unprofitable forms of industry into profitable ones, entailing loss to certain individuals but gain to society "because the survival of the fittest method and the ablest management results in the largest production at the least cost."[76] Competition further caused great industries to become established in one advantageous area thus creating an interdependence between different sections of the nation and serving to unify national life by making, through this very interdependence, the interests of one section of the country the concern of all.

Strong applied the same principle of competition to world trade. Free international economic competition, to be achieved through reciprocity and free trade, he believed would result in the survival of the nation most socially and industrially efficient. This also would mean specialization among the various nations, and would result in a world organization and coordination of industry, an ultimate solution which Strong desired.[77] Strong held that when nations became specialized economically and, thus, economically interdependent, nations would "no more lift up sword against nation than Massachusetts

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76. Josiah Strong, "'Peace on Earth' and Organized Industry," S.S., 4:191 (Dec.'01).

77. S.S., 4:191 (Dec.'01); see also Expansion, 162-3, 239-40, 102-3. Strong stated that competition for markets might be the solution for overproduction in 1900, but not the ultimate solution which he believed was industrial co-operation among nations. See also World-Life, 28, 31, 33-4.

would declare war against the source of her cotton or wheat supply."[78] Economic cooperation on a national and a world basis would gradually come to society as a whole as a result of the development of a world-life and "not through the example or agency of a little community of economic saints, set off by themselves--'an age of reason in a patty-pan,' as Emerson called the Brook Farm experiment."[79] Strong's position in his economic and political philosophy as well as in his religious outlook was an attempt to preserve the individualism in the principles of American democracy as well as in the teachings of Jesus, yet making that individualism meaningful in the new social age by developing its social conscience and social spirit.

The kernel of all social questions, Strong stated, was the basic economic problem of the right distribution of property. The problem of production had been solved, once abundance was made possible with the use of machines as the source of power.[80] The correlative problem of distribution would never, however, be settled "until men emphasize duties rather then rights."[81]

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[78] S.S., 4:91 (Dec.'01).

[79] Strong, "Outlook for Cooperative Communities," S.S., 8:63 (Oct.'03).

[80] Josiah Strong,"The Outlook for Labor in the Twentieth Century," S.S.,3:3-4 (June'01) and "Why the League for Social Service," S.S.,5:41-3 (Sept.'02);see also Our Country, 211; Next Great Awakening, 197-9, for an analysis of the social questions of the day from the point of view of distribution; Expansion, 78, 102-3; World-Life, 253, 152-3; New Era, 148-51; Josiah Strong, The Times and Young Men (New York, 1901),99-100. This work will be cited hereafter as Times and Men. See also Josiah Strong, The Challenge of the City (New York,1907),23. This work will be cited hereafter as Challenge of City.

[81] Next Great Awakening, 199.

Strong believed that the problem of adequate distribution was "more a question of morals than of economics," that it could be solved not by legislation but only by rooting out selfishness. He therefore contended that the equitable distribution of property or wealth was "primarily a question of conscience, which permits us to forego rights, but hold us to duties."[82] Strong characterized the movements for trade unionism, single taxism, syndicalism and socialism as "intelligent attempts to solve the problem of distribution," but as attempts that were not basic solutions of the problem. Such solutions, though they proposed changes in the method and form of the economic system, were inadequate in their proponents' failure to see that the sin and selfishness of man's use of the capitalistic system were the root of evil.

Strong found fault with the socialist ideal of brotherhood in that it was a "fatherless brotherhood . . . which is a caricature of Christ's teaching."[83] Socialism, he declared, was generally atheistic, although many Christians who believed in social Christianity and the Kingdom on earth were driven into its ranks because of the individualism of the church. Though he had been associated at various times with men who favored Christian socialism, such as Herron, Bliss, and Rauschenbusch, Strong, nevertheless, refused to accept the state socialism they were willing to support.[84] In his last book, Our World. The New World-Religion, published in 1915, Strong vehemently maintained that state socialism was purely political and economic in character, although many tried to make it a religion.[85] Strong attacked socialism because he believed it repressed the individual, it falsely declared that labor produced all wealth, it taught private property to be theft, and it "assiduously" cultivated "class antagonism."[86] Above all other criticisms, Strong's basic objection to socialism was that it ignored the factor of human sin in holding that capitalism was the great source of social ills.[87] Strong declared that the exponents of socialism failed to see that

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[82] Ibid., 199,201; Expansion, 78.

[83] New Era, 129-30; see also World-Life, 154 and Challenge of City, 206. In Challenge of City, Strong opposed the use of the term "brotherhoods" by industrial unions, since their purpose was to promote shared industrial interests, perhaps looking on some other classes of men as enemies. He wrote,"Christian teaching requires that a man be treated as a brother, not because he follows the same trade, but because he is a man."

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[84] Ralph Henry Gabriel, The Course of American Democratic Thought (New York, 1940), on Bliss, 138, on Herron, 320, on Rauschenbusch, 328. Strong objected to the influence of "an endowed school of higher rank in New York City" devoted to teaching socialism, evidently meaning the Rand School, in an article "What Must Society Do to be Saved," Gos. of K., 1:57-8 (May '09).

[85] World-Religion, 455.

[86] Our Country, 184; New Era, 150-1, 145; Challenge of City, 156-9.

[87] Our Country, 85, 11-12, chapter 8; New Era, 118; 20C City,121,140.

> Capitalism is only one of a thousand forms in which selfishness expresses itself. Socialism proposes a remedy which would remove that particular symptom, but which sustains no relation to the disease.[88]

Strong found it necessary to warn all that "Jesus has been claimed both as an individualist and as a socialist, which is fairly good evidence that he was neither."[89]

In his desire to unite individualism and social responsibility in the economic sphere, Strong rejected the selfish competitive capitalism and "rugged individualism" of the so-called "robber barons" as well as the state regulated society of the socialists. In his books and articles, as in the action of the League, Strong advocated and sought to have applied the Christian law of service in the existing industrial order as the truly radical solution of the economic problems of the period. Strong believed that the teachings of Christ in the First and Second Commandments contemplated "a complete and unselfish individualism and at the same time a universal brotherhood." The strong individualism produced by the competitive system in the United States made a true brotherhood of men impossible, while the socialistic system which many desired, though it provided

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88. World-Life, 107; Strong, "What Must Society Do to be Saved," Gos. of K., 1:57-8 (May'09). Here Strong repeated the theme that society did not need socialism but needed to be saved from selfishness.

89. World-Life, 193.

for brotherhood, served to repress the individual.[90] What Strong advocated was a Christian organization of business which would make the service of society the object of business and in which "profits, however necessary," would be "wholly secondary, and only a means to service as an end."[91] Strong demanded of business men the same disinterestedness expected of ministers, physicians and teachers; and he deplored the fact that "by common consent, the world of industry absolves itself from this law . . . we take it for granted that the object of a man in going into business is to make money . . . in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, the motive of business is the hope of gain."[92]

With respect to the "gospel of wealth," Strong held that it was not enough for business men to reap profit, even if by honest means, with incidental service to society and benevolence through gifts to philanthropy or the church. The Christian attitude must prevail in the acquisition as well as the disposition of wealth. Even unselfish business men must recognize

> in production and distribution two of the great vital functions of society, in the best possible performance of which they find the supreme

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[90] New Era, 134.

[91] World-Religion, 166.

[92] Josiah Strong, "The Law of Service Applied to Capital and Labor," S.S., 2:8 (July '00).

> opportunity of their lives to do the greatest good to the greatest number, thus serving God in the service of humanity, and hastening the coming of his kingdom.[93]

Thus, with the basic concept of the Kingdom ever-present, with its corollaries of the unity of the "sacred" and the "secular," the services of the industrial world would become a sacred function. The outward expression of this spirit was especially to be found in the concern which capital must have for the welfare of labor. "Duties" must become the watchword and the employer must ask "What more than wages to I owe?"[94]

In seeking to stress the practical result of the application of the law of service in the business world, Strong often used the device of asking men what change of policy would have resulted if Christ had become general manager of the average business that employed labor or of the New York Central Railroad, the Pennsylvania Railroad, the Standard Oil Company or the American Steel Company. He queried:

> Would there be any change in the service of the public, any fall of prices, any rise of wages, any shortening of hours, any improvement of the conditions of labor? Does anyone suppose it would be

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93. World-Religion, 165; Next Great Awakening, 165-7; see also Strong, "Law of Service," S.S., 2:8 (July'00). Strong also expressed the same idea in a lecture at Carnegie Hall on Sunday, May 3, 1901, under the auspices of the West Side YMCA on "Christianity and the Labor Problem," New York Tribune, March 4, 1901, 5/5.

94. Josiah Strong, "Capital Takes the Initiative," S.S., 3:3 (March'00).

> necessary to placard the fact in order to have it known to the employees and to the public that there had been a change in the management?[95]

Whatever change of policy might result as a consequence of Christ's management of a business would measure precisely the divergence of that business from the Christian law. Strong assured his audience of the possibility of applying the law of service in the business world by examples of businesses, conducted according to Christian principles, that had been successful from the business as well as the religious viewpoint.[96] Although Strong feared the power of the "unchecked concentration of wealth" as inconsistent with the spirit and institutions of democracy, he did not believe that the concentration of capital in the form of trusts, "an inevitable step in the evolution of industry," was an evil in itself. The evils of trusts were incidental and not inherent. Only trusts which were monopolies should be destroyed. Any trust formed and operated "to render the best service for all at the least cost," Strong wrote, "would prove a great blessing to humanity."[97]

Strong's reasoning thus deviated in a revolutionary way from the "Gospel of Wealth" concept of stewardship so widely accepted

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95. Next Great Awakening, 168; World-Religion, 496.

96. Next Great Awakening, 205-211.

97. S.S., 4:218 (Dec.'01); 5:26-7 (Jan.'02); 3:(June'01), book review by Strong of William Miller Collier, The Trusts, 1900; S.S., 2:7 (July'00); World-Life, 136-141, on power of concentration of wealth; Our Country, 105; Times and Men, 201-202.

in the last decades of the nineteenth century by both business men and the church. The Christian stewardship preached by Strong declared that all property and wealth in every step of its acquisition must be related by all men to the service of the Kingdom. Strong admitted that there was a kernel of truth in the socialist contention that property was theft, so long as all of man's money and possessions were not used for the glory of God in the service of man.[98] Such an application of the law of service did not imply an impoverishment of self to the point of impairing usefulness; yet, it did not mean simply the concept of tithing, which the church proposed. In Strong's opinion, not one-tenth of a man's earnings belonged to God, but all of a man's substance was a trust from God to be consecrated for the service of humanity and the hastening of the coming of the Kingdom.[99] This concept of Christian stewardship differed markedly from that of many who reaped wealth and possessions at the turn of the century. Strong urged men of wealth to view their wealth as a power for service and to recognize that

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98. Times and Men, 158-9, 161-2; Next Great Awakening, 131; Challenge of City, 156-8.

99. Our Country, 195, 204, 213; Next Great Awakening, 132, 173-5, 177, 202, 126. Strong stated that in his next volume of the Our World series, he intended to devote an entire chapter to the teachings of Jesus on wealth, see World-Religion, 486-7; see also Walter L. Lingle, The Bible and Social Problems (New York, 1929), 88-92. Dr. Lingle, president of Davidson College, North Carolina, from 1929 to 1941, in his book discussed and accepted Strong's views on wealth.

they were "morally bound" to make not simply a "justifiable" use of it but rather the best possible use of it "for the help of humanity."[100] While Strong rejected the rugged individualism, the selfish competition, the limited stewardship that were considered part of the Gospel of Wealth philosophy, he praised Andrew Carnegie's exposition and practice of the "Gospel of Wealth" in a review of Carnegie's book of that title in 1901. Strong understood Carnegie's explanation of the philosophy to mean that all surplus revenues which came to Carnegie were actually trust funds for the benefit of humanity. In 1905 both Carnegie and Mrs. Carnegie were on the Executive Committee of the League.[101] Although Strong praised gifts made to various causes by Andrew Carnegie, J. P. Morgan and others, he condemned as "tainted money" a gift of $100,000 from John D. Rockefeller to a missionary board.[102] Christian stewardship, in Strong's philosophy, meant an all-inclusive and life-long dedication of man's substance to the service of man for the glory of God.

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[100] World-Religion, 493, 486, 490, 494; Times and Men, 161, 162.

[101] For a discussion of the "Gospel of Wealth" philosophy see Gabriel, American Democratic Thought, chapter 13. For Strong's views of Carnegie see Strong's review of Carnegie's The Gospel of Wealth, S.S., 4:59-60 (Aug. '01); Josiah Strong, "Wealth as a Servant," S.S., 9:71 (April '04) and Times and Men, 225-6. Carnegie was on the Executive Committee of the American Institute, see Josiah Strong, ed., Social Progress, A Year Book and Encyclopedia of Economic, Industrial, Social and Religious Statistics, 1905 (New York, 1905), 333. This work will be cited hereafter as Social Progress, 1905.

[102] Josiah Strong, "The Problem of 'Tainted' Money," Homiletic Review, 69:422-5 (June 1905). The Reverend Arthur T. Pierson stated similar views on "tainted" money in his volume, Forward Movements of the Last Half Century, 119-120.

Nor were the laborer or the consumer spared in Strong's attack on the selfish spirit of American capitalism. While men entered business for gain, others selected trades for the highest wages, and the consumer perpetually sought bargains. All were acting in violation of the spirit of service. Strong urged that a man's vocation must be his principal means of doing good in the world, must be his way of building the Kingdom. Service to his fellow men, not compensation, must be the laborer's primary motive. It was the satisfaction of usefulness, of service, not solely of better wages, that would make workers content. Strong declared:

> He who lives simply to get can never be contented, no matter how much he receives, because he is violating one of the highest laws of nature.[103]

Strong was confident that industrial peace would result from both labor and capital seeking to serve rather than to gain. Both would soon discover that their interests were mutual and that they were as dependent on each other "as are the two wings of a bird."[104] Strikes, lockouts, and disputes, Strong

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103. S.S., 2:3 (July'00), editorial by Strong; Next Great Awakening, 203, 123, 126, 158-60, 169; Times and Men, 146; My Religion, 31-2, 52, 59; see also Strong, "Law of Service," S.S., 2:9 (July'00).

104. S.S., 2:3 (Oct.'00), editorial by Strong; see also Times and Men, 111-12, and Josiah Strong, "The Mutual Interests of Capital and Labor," S.S., 4:103-5 (Oct.'01).

showed by examples, did not plague factories where Christian principles were applied.[105] Strong feared that industrial discontent, as expressed in strikes, would become increasingly destructive as labor and capital became more highly organized. To Strong there was hope for industrial peace only when

> labor unions were formed with a view to more efficient service, and capitalistic combinations were made for the benefit of employees and of the general public.[106]

The acceptance of Christ's law of service, the idea that each worked for all and all for each, would instantly settle all differences between labor and capital, for these differences sprang from selfish competition. Strong prophesied that industrial peace would not come until political economy became a department of applied Christianity, "or, as some would prefer to say, until Christianity has been substituted for political economy."[107] He maintained that to show that the industrial world needed the law of service was to show that the great social need was Jesus Christ. Strong concluded:

> Men are crying out for fellowship, for brotherly love, and blindly feeling after this law of service. Brotherhood, love, service, sacrifice--all these are but the different facets of the same diamond, or,

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[105] 20C City, 142; Next Great Awakening, 206-11.

[106] Next Great Awakening, 202, 135; World-Religion, 168; New York Tribune, March 4, 1901, 5/5; S.S., 5:1-2 (Jan.'02); 6:90 (Nov.'02), editorial by Strong; 2:7 (July'00), editorial by Strong, also 8, 10.

[107] New Era, 129.

> rather, because it is a vital thing, different manifestations of the same spirit--the spirit of Christ. That can unite employer and employee in brotherhood; that, and that only, can inspire the spirit of service, without which there can be no radical solution of industrial problems; that and that only can kindle a flame of love which will consume away the world's selfishness.[108]

Strong's solution of the labor problem was inherently part of his religious philosophy which taught that self-sacrificing service was possible, that it was the characteristic of the "re-born" man. The new social conscience of 1900 needed to be saved and guided. The specific purpose of the League for Social Service, Strong declared in July, 1900, was to help all the institutions of society to readjust to the law of service and, thus, be in harmony with the new social order.[109]

From the earliest days of the League a department existed devoted especially to the promotion of industrial betterment. The department expressed its aims in terms of the slogan "Better Conditions--Better Education--Better Life."[110] Commercial members, who became "clients" of the League for $25 a year, could be helped in securing "improved men" for "improved machines" through the expert advice of the League. The materials of the department included photographs, lantern slides, plans, diagrams and special reports. Commercial members were sent a weekly bulletin "of advice and information" giving the results of welfare experiments in the United States and Europe as well as information on shop and factory improvements, conditions of labor, and the recognition of common interests by labor and capital.[111] Commercial membership in the League grew from forty-six members in March, 1901, to fifty-four in June, to seventy-seven in October and to a record high of ninety-three in December, 1901.[112] Among those who used the League's services were the H. J. Heinz Company, Huyler's Chocolate Company, Long Island Railroad, McCormick Reaper Company, J. and W. Seligman, bankers of New York, Fifth Avenue Bank, Sherwin-Williams Paint Company, South Bethlehem Steel Company, Abraham and Strauss of Brooklyn, E. A. Filene of Boston, Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, General Electric Company, North German Lloyd Steamship Company, Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, the Children's Aid Society, the Department of Economics and Social Science of Swarthmore College and St. Bartholomew's Church of New York City.

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[108] Strong, "The Law of Service," S.S., 2:10 (July'00).

[109] S.S., 2:7 (July'00), editorial by Strong.

[110] S.S., 2:back of front cover (March,1900). A definition of industrial betterment by Tolman included questions of labor and capital, trade unions, wages, trusts, employers' associations, hours of labor, housing, education, recreation. See William H. Tolman, "Report on the Liége International Exposition," S.S., 11:115 (Oct.'05).

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[111] S.S., 3:157 (May'01); 5:173 (June'02), 60-61 (Sept.'02); 13:(Nov.-Dec.'06); see also editorial by Lyman Abbott, Outlook, 67:335 (Feb.9/01).

[112] S.S., 1:back cover (July'99); 2: back of front cover (March'00); 2:5 (Aug.'00); 3:9 (March'01), 182 (June'01); 4:132 (Oct.'01), 234-5 (Dec.'01). Commercial membership dropped to 88 in September, 1902, see S.S., 5:62-63 (Sept.'02).

Clients of the League could be found not only in all fields of work, but in all sections of the United States and Europe. Sections of the United States reached by the League's services were Pennsylvania (Pittsburg, Philadelphia, South Bethlehem), Illinois (Chicago), Michigan (Grand Rapids, Detroit), Ohio (Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati, Dayton), New Jersey (Newark, Patterson), Massachusetts (Worcester, Boston, Plymouth, Ludlow), Connecticut (Greenwich), Maryland (Baltimore), New York (Schenectady, Rochester, Lake George, PortChester, Briarcliff), Indiana (Indianapolis), Wisconsin (Milwaukee), Minnesota (Minneapolis), Colorado (Denver, Pueblo), Missouri (St. Louis), Texas (Fort Worth), California (San Francisco, Sacramento), Alabama (Birmingham) and North Carolina (Greensboro). Firms in Europe which were clients of the League were located in Holland (Amsterdam), England (Derby, Liverpool, Birmingham, Port Sunlight), Scotland (Meigle) and Italy (Milan).[113] A request was received from the Cleveland Cliffs Iron Company for information about baths and recreations for employees. The General Electric Company of Schenectady requested information about the development of housing for employees.[114] Dr. Tolman was called to the South Bethlehem Iron Works to make suggestions to the managers for improving working conditions.

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113. S.S., 1:23 (Nov.'99), 11-12 (Oct.'99); 2:18 (Dec.'00); 4:132 (Oct.'00); 5:62-3 (Sept.'02); 6:126 (Dec.'02).

114. S.S., 1:11-12 (Oct.'99); New York Times, Oct. 15, 1899, 8/4.

He was also requested by Cyrus H. McCormick to make a special trip to the McCormick Harvesting Machine Company to investigate company conditions. The Chamber of Commerce of Cleveland invited Tolman to address the group on the subject of the social betterment of employees.[115] In the fall and winter of 1901, the League sent Tolman on a lecture tour across the nation to address groups on the methods of promoting better feelings between employers and the employed. The League believed the lectures had been so successful that it asked its supporters in January, 1902, for $10,000 to continue the lectures throughout the year. The money was not raised, however.[116]

The work of Strong and Tolman in this movement for social and industrial betterment was referred to by them as that of a "social engineer."[117] By August, 1902, the League could report that it was placing social engineers at the disposal of the great industrialists throughout the United States and that requests for social engineers far exceeded the League's supply.[118]

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115. New York Times, Oct. 15, 1899, 8/4; S.S., 3:7 (Jan. '01); see pamphlet, William H. Lever, Prosperity Sharing in Relation to Workshop Management. A Study of Capital, Management and Labor in Social Service Series. Industrial Betterment (New York, no date), back cover.

116. S.S., 5:16-17 (Jan.'02); 2:15 (Feb.'00).

117. New York Times, Oct. 15, 1899, 8/4.

118. S.S., 2:4 (March'00); 5:34-5 (Aug.'02); 9:70 (April'04).

The position was described as one in which the person employed learned the needs of the workers and established good relations between the employer and the employee. The League boasted that it had called attention to the position of "social secretary" or social engineer as a new profession in 1899. Thereafter the idea had been adopted by large firms in New York, Chicago, Boston, Pittsburgh and Providence. The League considered itself responsible for having introduced the idea on the Pacific Coast when, as a result of the League's suggestion in January, 1905, a woman social secretary was employed by one of the leading department stores in San Francisco which had six stores on the coast.[119]

Commenting specifically on the League's work in the field of industrial betterment, an editorial in *The Outlook* for February 9, 1901, stated that the "conviction seems to be spreading among employers that there is a pecuniary as well as a moral interest in providing something beyond mere wages for the mass of their partners in production."[120] The president of a New York City glass company stated that *Social Service* was doing "great good in reconciling labor and capital, and

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119. *S.S.*, 10:(July'04), issue devoted to discussion of social secretary; see also *S.S.*, 9:70 (April'04); 2:3 (Nov.'00); 12:10 (March'06), Strong, Annual Report; Tolman, "Report on the Liége International Exposition," *S.S.*, 11:116 (Oct.'05); also *New York Times*, Oct. 15, 1899, 8/4.

120. *Outlook*, 67:335 (Feb.9/01).

showing that where they work together it is always for the advantage of both."[121]

With the February, 1900, issue, Social Service was published by the League's own Social Service Press. In addition to printing the magazine, the Social Service Press also printed League reports and special studies. It also advertised that it would prepare and edit

> prospectuses, booklets, bulletins, circulars, catalogues and other forms of advertisements, and print the same in the best and most artistic manner and mail to lists of names furnished or supply mailing lists of well selected names.[122]

The League offered to edit and print company bulletins which, it explained, were much needed to establish personal contact with employees as a result of the massing of industry and concentration of capital. A company paper was printed for the Briarcliff Farms in New York. Companies were urged to advertise in a paper that was read "by thoughtful people." Among the advertisers were the Baker and Taylor Publishing Company, Holophane

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[121] See letter to Captain A. H. Mattox, managing editor of Social Service, dated April, 1901, S.S., 3:128 (April'01).

[122] S.S., 4:30 (July'01); 2:cover (Feb.'00), 18 (April'00); 4:cover (Dec.'01); 2:2 (Nov.'00). Among the special studies printed by the Social Service Press was a pamphlet written by a Vice-President of the American Humane Society, Our Unemployed: And What Count Rumford Did for the Poor in Bavaria in Social Service Series. Philanthropy (New York, no date) and also a pamphlet, no author, Public Baths and Public Comfort Stations (New York, no date). See also S.S., 12:4 (Jan.'06), for a statement that the Institute, successor to the League, had published James Kilbourne, Some Phases of the Labor Question.

Glass Company of New York City, Aeolian Company and the New York Central Railroad.[123]

The League listed its departments in January, 1901, as Service of Information and Research, Service of Library and Archives, Service of Interpretation (slides, charts, maps, models, plans), Service of Publication (Social Service, Digest of State Laws, leaflets, special series), Service of Publicity (Lecture Department, Press Bureau, organization of conferences), Service of Personal Investigations (personally directed visits and studies) and the Institute of Social Service (the Museum of Social Economy).[124] The efforts of all departments of the League were directed toward enlightening and directing the popular conscience and public opinion together with initiating efforts for social and industrial betterment. In July, 1901, Dr. Strong inquired in Social Service whether those of his readers who were ministers desired a department in the magazine edited by himself "devoted to facts bearing on human betterment which are suited to use in the pulpit."[125] Strong's suggestion does not appear to have materialized until 1908 when The Gospel of the Kingdom, the magazine published by the American Institute of Social Service, successor to the League, was devoted entirely to studies in the social gospel intended for ministers as well as many kinds of study groups.

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[123] S.S., 3:78, 83-4 (March'01); 3:127 (April'01). No advertisements appeared in Social Service after January, 1904, and no reason was given.

[124] S.S., 3:back cover (Jan.'01).

[125] S.S., 3:4 (July'01).

Strong was eager to supplement the agencies of the League, especially the Bureau of Information, with a Museum of Social Economy, in which "would be shown the relation of economic history to social welfare by graphics of all kinds, photographs and models." Such a museum was listed among the League's departments as early as the fall of 1899.[126] Strong believed that a Museum of Social Economy would be an invaluable clearinghouse for social effort, making known all the successful experiments and methods, both national and international, used in social and industrial betterment. Many social experiments failed, he asserted, because men were ignorant of the experience of others.[127] By means of a social museum, "an institution which will correlate, systematize and make accessible the various activities in the field of practical effort," the world's hard

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126. S.S., 2:4 (Sept.'00); 1:back cover inside (Oct.'99); 1:2 (Nov.'99). The subject of a Museum of Social Economy was discussed during the spring and fall of 1899 by Strong, Tolman and others at meetings of the Get-Together Club organized by Tolman in New York City in 1896 for discussions of social problems. On Dec. 11, 1896, M. François de Carbonnel, secretary of the Musée Social of Paris, had been guest of the club and described the scope and object of the Musée. See S.S., 1:4 (Nov.'99); 2:5-10 (April'00); 3:92-114 (April'01). Strong addressed the club on the subject of a Museum at the October, 1899, meeting, S.S., 1:17-19 (Nov.'99).

127. S.S., 1:406 (Aug.'99); 2:4 (Sept.'00).

earned experience on a given problem would be readily available.[128] A social museum, the Musée Social, had been founded in Paris in 1884 which by 1902 had an annual expenditure of $40,000. The scope of the Paris Musée, however, was limited to labor problems. The League acknowledged that, in some respects, it had copied the Musée Social, but that it had adapted all to American conditions and had expanded the scope to include information concerning social problems. If Paris, Berlin and Amsterdam felt the necessity for a social museum, the League asked in 1902, "how much more should New York, the leading city in America?"[129]

The museum, as planned by Strong, was to have municipal, industrial and social sections. In each section were to be kept reports, documents and illustrative material showing successful social experiments. In setting up its ideal Museum of Social Economy, the League planned to classify its departments according to the classification which had been used at the Social Economy exhibit at the Paris Exposition of 1900. The League regarded this conformity as advisable because of the value that would follow from correlating the exhibits and findings of social museums of different countries. The League hoped that

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128. S.S., 5:99 (March'02).

129. S.S., 6:66 (Oct.'02); 1:8-9 (Sept.'99); 2:4 (Aug.'00); 5:99 (March'02); see also article by Emile Cheysson on Musée Social, S.S., 7:25-9 (Feb.'03). S.S., 6:71 (Oct.'02) lists Museums of Social Economy in Paris, Brussels, Amsterdam, Edinburgh, Milan, Moscow.

eventually each museum would serve not only as a clearing-house for its own country, but, at the same time, as an agency for the interchange of information on a world scale. Among the fifteen departments to be included in the classification were those devoted to workmen's dwellings, safety protection in factories, agricultural unions and banks, protection of child labor, industrial betterment, provident institutions, education, hygiene, cooperative stores and religion.[130] Such a museum, Strong asserted, was not to be merely "a depository for all sorts of static material," but was to be an instrument in making the results of experiments in social and industrial betterment "generally available for the public good." Strong also stressed that whereas the Musée Social of Paris had been only of scientific interest and value, the American Museum of Social Economy would be "conducted solely with a view to practical results," and would be "something new under the sun."[131] Its resources were to be made available to the scholar, student, man of affairs or politician. The League boasted:

> It will be a place where the educators of public opinion can resort to obtain the economic and scientific basis of facts for their statements and at the same time illustrations of the present application of these very facts to the life of to-day.[132]

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130. S.S., 2:7 (Dec.'00).

131. S.S., 3:3 (Jan.'01).

132. S.S., 2:7 (Dec.'00); 1:4-6 (Aug.'99).

In Strong's opinion the social museum would provide the citizens of American cities with a means of studying experiments in municipal improvements throughout the world. He said in October, 1902:

> Concerning a given problem and its solution one might learn more in a single visit to a social museum than by a month's tour of the cities of our country. Under a single roof the inquirer could study the municipal housekeeping of the best governed cities in the world. This would go far to teach what we have not yet learned, viz., how to live in cities.[133]

By 1906 Strong had concluded that city problems and their solutions needed the scientific, comparative study that would be possible only if there were available a collection of material presenting the life of cities the world over. Such a collection would constitute a Municipal Museum.[134]

Although a Museum of Social Economy on the scale contemplated in the ideal of 1900 apparently never materialized, the League did maintain and prepare exhibits keeping them up-to-date by frequent acquisitions of materials, often from other exhibits on social economy. A series of photographs, which were to be made into slides, illustrating different departments of the city government of Glasgow and reports of each department were referred to in the League's Annual Report of September, 1899, as "an important accession to the Municipal Section of the League's Museum of Social Economy."[135] The League also purchased, through the gifts of its friends, the nucleus of the valuable exhibits of typical continental movements for social and industrial betterment shown at the Paris Exposition of 1900. The exhibits of France, Belgium and Germany at the St. Louis Fair of 1904 were also purchased.[136] To secure this material the League had to beg repeatedly for funds. In an editorial in July, 1900, Strong appealed to "some far-seeing man of means" for "a little money" to purchase the social exhibits on display at the Paris Exposition.[137] In September of the same year, Strong assured any prospective contributors to the cause for founding a Museum of Social Economy that the promoters of the enterprise were known to the American public by their books and deeds and that their names were "a guarantee for progressive conservatism."[138] In March, 1902, at the very time that the League was being forced to reorganize because of lack of funds, an appeal was still made to some "public-spirited

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[133] S.S., 6:68 (Oct.'02).

[134] S.S., 13:3-4 (Sept.'06), editorial by Strong.

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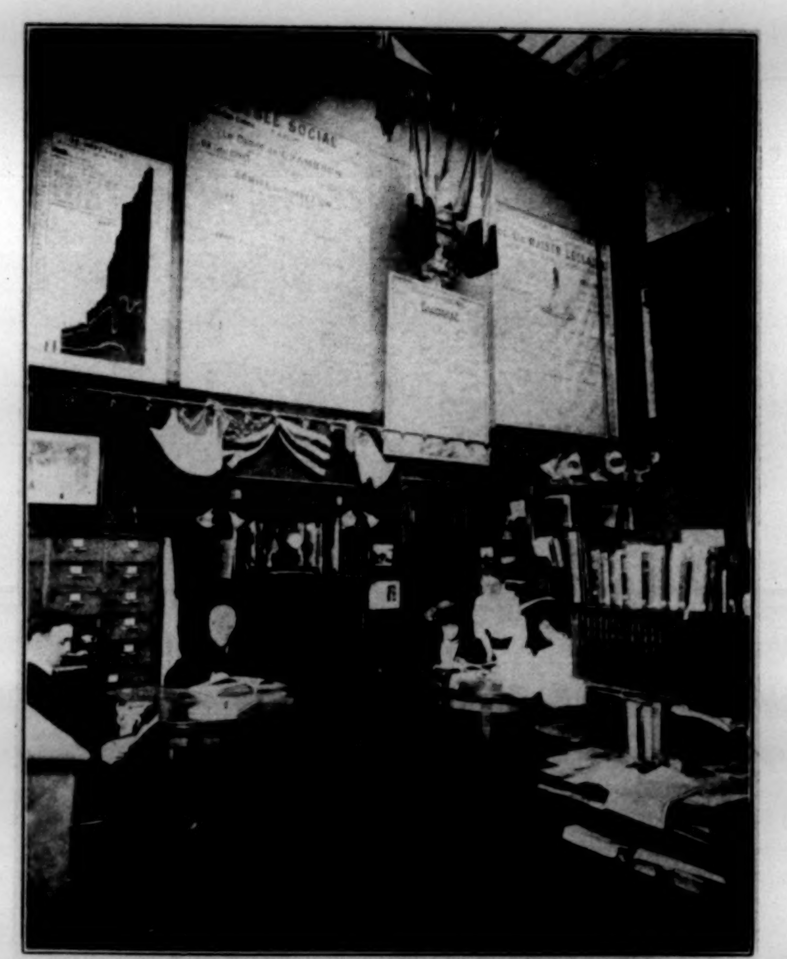
135. S.S., 1:16 (Sept.'99).

136. S.S., 2:3 (Oct.'00). Among those listed as having made possible the purchase of materials from Paris were John D. Rockefeller, Maurice Fels of Philadelphia and V. Evritt Macy of New York. Interesting to note is that by 1905, after the trust suit against Standard Oil, Strong criticized groups accepting money from Rockefeller as it was "tainted money." See article on "Tainted Money," Homiletic Review, 69:422-5 (June'05); see also S.S., 2:6 (Dec.'00), 3(Sept.'00), 4(July'00); 8:96 (Dec.'03).

137. S.S., 2:4 (July'00).

138. S.S., 2:4 (Sept.'00).



A Corner of the French Section of Social Economy at the Rooms of the American Institute of Social Service and generous man or woman of wealth" to help their country, to win the love of the people, and to perpetuate his name by founding the Museum, "the first institution of this kind in America."[139]

During the first year of its organization, the League for Social Service was chosen by the United States Commission to the International Exposition at Paris in the summer of 1900 to prepare an exhibit for the Commission's Department of Education and Social Economy. Strong and Tolman, as well as Frederic W. Spiers and Mary L. Dickinson, were appointed special agents in that department. The United States exhibit was divided into four sections, namely, the geography of the United States itself, its peoples (races and occupations), its institutions (industrial, commercial, economic and social), and its progress in social and industrial betterment. The League's responsibility was to collect materials on the institutions and movements for betterment of social and industrial conditions and to interpret that material by means of monographs, charts, documents and lantern slides.[140] The Outlook commented that "To have obtained such recognition sufficiently attests the distinction won by the League, now barely a year old."[141]

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[139] S.S., 5:99 (March'02).

[140] S.S., 1:14, 15 (Nov.'99), 5(July'99), 15-16(Sept.'99). The date when the League was commissioned was probably May, 1899, since a statement was made that the League was only eight months old when asked to prepare the exhibit and it had been organized in September, 1898, see S.S., 2:3 (Sept.'00) and 2:4 (Aug.'00).

Although the League did not receive any money from the United States government for its job, having to raise independently nearly $5,000 for the work, it undertook the work and the financial burden because it believed the task afforded an opportunity to show the world "that there were definite movements in the commercial and industrial world, based on sympathy, consideration, and humanity for working men and women."[142] The exhibit was to serve as an object lesson for other employers. The League published for distribution at the exposition a series of monographs containing a brief, systematic account of the different institutions and movements to be represented in the soccial economy exhibit. Strong wrote Religious Movements for Social Betterment, Tolman wrote Industrial Betterment, Spiers wrote Movements for Municipal Betterment and Mrs. Dickinson wrote Organized Work by Women for Social Betterment. A monograph on the Young Men's Christian Associations of North America was also contributed to the exhibit by the League. Each of the monographs was actually the basis of a particular display containing typical illustrations of statements made in the monograph.[143]

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[141] S.S., 1:9-10 (July'99); see also an editorial in the Springfield Republican, July 5, 1899.

[142] S.S., 2:5 (March'00). Strong and Tolman were allowed the franking privilege. For a list of financial supporters see S.S., 1:5-6 (July'99) and 2:3 (Sept.'00).

In preparing its exhibit, the League appealed to the readers of Social Service for names and addresses of employers who were improving the conditions of workers, of clergymen who were establishing institutional churches and of municipal departments which were undertaking interesting work.[144] Documents, maps, statistical charts and summaries, photographs and lantern slides were included in the exhibit. Before shipment to Paris, the exhibit was put on display for the public on March 2, 1900 at the home of Helen Miller Gould. Almost two thousand photographs, mostly 8"x10", had been collected and interpreted. The League was equally proud of the way in which the photographs were displayed. Cards 22"x28", on which six pictures were mounted, were placed in wing frames swinging from hinges on the wall. On the card was a description of each picture in both English and French.[145] The exhibit was also shown to Governor Theodore Roosevelt in Albany. Strong told a group present in the executive chamber that it would have been impossible to have undertaken the collection and interpretation of movements for social and industrial betterment in the United States if he had not had available the material already collected by the League. Strong explained the scope and value of a department of social economy. Governor Roosevelt was reported to have been pleased with the object method of presenting material appealing to the eye as well as to the ear and to have expressed interest in the general subject.[146]

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[143] S.S., 1:15-16 (Sept.'99), 14-15 (Nov.'99); see also Henry S. Ninde, Young Men's Christian Associations of North America (Herbert B. Adams, ed., Monographs on American Social Economy, no. 17, Albany, 1900).

[144] S.S., 1:8-9 (July'99).

[145] S.S., 2:3 (March'00).

For its exhibit the League received the highest award at the exposition, a Grand Prix. Strong and Tolman each received a gold medal for his monograph. Comment on the award in Social Service held that this international recognition placed the League "among the foremost institutions in the world," and was "a tribute to the high character and efficiency of this young society." The League was declared to be "practically the Musée Social of America."[147] The Paris Exposition was the first of a number of expositions at which the League displayed a sociological exhibit. The officials of the Glasgow Exposition requested and received from the League its exhibit on industrial and social betterment for their exposition in the fall of 1902. Thereafter, by request, the exhibit traveled from one city of Europe to another.[148]

The League prepared exhibits on social economy for the

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[146] S.S., 2:3 (March'00).

[147] S.S., 2:4, 18 (Aug.'00), 3 (Oct.'00); see also New York Tribune, Feb. 21, 1902, 8/6.

[148] S.S., 6:67-8 (Oct.'02).

World's Fairs in St. Louis in 1904, in Liége in 1905 and in Milan in 1906. The exhibit at St. Louis consisted of illustrations and interpretations of the world's advancement in social progress and of the League's own special investigations in social and industrial betterment. The collection and interpretation of English and Scotch movements for industrial betterment made by the League was awarded a grand prize. Its exhibit of the work of institutional churches was awarded a gold medal and its exhibits of industrial betterment work of various companies were given awards. The League's new publication, Social Progress, a yearbook of facts related to social and industrial betterment, was recognized with a gold medal, and the League, itself, was one of the four organizations in a group of betterment movements to receive the highest award.[149]

The entire United States exhibit in social economy at the International Exposition at Liége in 1905 was collected, installed and interpreted by the League, which after 1903 was called the American Institute of Social Service. The government did not provide the Institute with funds for the exhibit and the Institute was once again obliged to make an appeal for the necessary means. A grand prize was awarded to the League, itself, at this World's Fair. Its publications, Social Progress and The Better New York, a new guide to the social institutions of the city, were awarded gold medals. The entire United States

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149. S.S., 10:11 (July'04); see also 11:13 (Jan.'05),107 (Oct.'05).

exhibit ranked third, that of Belgium, first, and of France, second.[150] The United States did not accept the invitation to participate in the International Exposition of 1906 in Milan, thereby leaving the United States without official representation. Again, however, the Institute collected and interpreted an exhibition on social and industrial betterment. The material sent to Milan by the Institute was the only exhibit sent from America.[151] The Institute had been eager to present exhibits at international expositions, for it believed that such presentation was one of the best possible methods for enlightening the world at large with information about the forward movements, particularly in the United States, for industrial and social betterment. As Strong so often stressed, the experience of all had to be made available for the instruction of each.[152]

In his monograph on Religious Movements for Social Betterment prepared expressly to interpret the exhibit of the United States on social economy at the Paris Exposition, Josiah Strong

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150. S.S., 11:108, 135 (Oct.'05).

151. S.S., 12:18-19 (March'06), 13:(Nov.-Dec.'06). The entire issue is devoted to the Milan Exposition. The League's exhibit included typical movements of industrialists for improving relations between capital and labor, work of the social engineer and social secretary, movements in organized charity and philanthropy, work of the socialized or institutional church, the Salvation Army, the YMCA and the Mohawk Conference on Arbitration.

152. S.S., 8:92 (Dec.'03), Strong's "Inaugural"; 9:inside cover (May'04).

found his first opportunity since writing The Twentieth Century City in 1898 to address the church directly with a complete presentation of his social gospel philosophy. He told the church that he was confident he had discovered both the cause and the remedy for the divorce of the workingman from the church. He emphatically maintained in his monograph that the religious organization which did most for social betterment actually accomplished most for the moral and spiritual regeneration of the individual.[153] Concern for social welfare, based on a full recognition of the need for adaptation of religious belief and church method to the new scientific progress and the new collective society of the twentieth century, he asserted, was the secret underlying the success of the most notable religious movements of the period. The failure to comprehend this need of a change of emphasis in its message and action, he maintained, was the basic cause of the failure of the church to reach the working class with its message.

It was Strong's opinion that change--in both material civilization and the realm of thought--was one of the most basic developments of the nineteenth century. Since adaptation to change was the law of life, the church, for its very survival, must adapt itself to the new collective society, the new scientific revelation of the interdependence of body and mind and the recent re-discovery of the meaning of the Kingdom as a

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153. Religious Movements, 130.

social ideal. Strong told his readers that the church in an individualistic age had stressed above all else the relationship of man to God; in a social age it must stress, in addition, the relations of man to man. It must preach the entire Gospel. It must discover and emphasize the neglected social teachings of Jesus, the laws of love, service, sacrifice.[154] It must recognize the effect of physical conditions on spiritual life. It must realize that work in social betterment would curb vice, crime, intemperance and pauperism. It must accept the oneness, the interdependence of the life of all society. It must be confident, inspired by the social ideal of the Kingdom, that no evils were necessary or permanent.[155] It must recognize that science was ever revealing God's methods to have been scientific. It must see that the church to be an effective co-laborer with God had to make its methods likewise scientific.[156]

Strong praised such organizations as the Young Men's Christian Association, the Salvation Army, the institutional church and the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor of the Episcopal church as successful religious movements that were conscious of social betterment both in methods and program. Nevertheless, he declared that he was confident that the evangelical church as a whole would adapt its methods as soon as it regained Christ's view of the Kingdom "as something possible of realization on earth," as soon as it believed "the earth is to be redeemed from its evils."[157] He asserted that the church would then recognize its duty to work for the accomplishment of Christ's social ideal. It would then see that religion included the whole of man--body, soul, mind--and, with that realization, it would then reject the old dualism of "sacred" and "secular." Both the individual and society would become the two foci of its interests.

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[154] Religious Movements, 14-16.

[155] Ibid., 31, 37; see also Next Great Awakening, 114-115.

[156] Religious Movements, 17.

In asserting the unity of all life Strong pointed out that the church must be concerned about the physical environment of men, for it was "the foundation which conditions the intellectual and spiritual superstructure."[158] Acceptance of this fact would save any ideal from being impracticable. In his opinion the interrelation of physical and spiritual was essential for the true faith. He wrote:

> A religion which neglects the spiritual life becomes formal and sensuous, while one which ignores the physical life becomes more or less mystical and effeminate, loses its virility, and has little influence over men of affairs.[159]

Strong emphasized the fact that the physical was the plane on which the masses lived. In these pages he presented for the first time an argument which he was to use often thereafter. He declared that the church must appeal to the workingman in terms he could understand, that is, in terms of his physical needs, in order for the church to bring him up to the spiritual level it desired.[160] As firmly as Strong believed that the spiritual part of man was "that part of man which is noblest and most real, the end for which the physical exists,"[161] he believed that the spiritual plane was an ideal for twentieth century man who was still living on the physical plane. If the church wished to elevate man to his spiritual heights, it had first to find him on the plane where he existed in order to reach and to teach him. Strong wrote that Christ had sympathized with man's physical needs, had ministered to them and the common people had flocked to Him. So too, Strong stressed, must the church realize that man

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[157] Religious Movements, 20-21.

[158] Ibid., 30-31.

[159] Ibid., 29-30.

> is not living on a high spiritual plane where he can appreciate the noblest motives. If he were, he would not need to be sought by the church. His life is largely animal; he is keenly conscious of physical wants. Spiritual things seem to him unreal, and the church which confines her activities to the spiritual sphere seems to him to be dealing with unrealities and to be far removed from everyday life.[162]

Strong was urging the church to be realistic in its methods, yet to be idealistic and spiritual always in its aim--the

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[160] Ibid., 35-36.

[161] Ibid., 30-31.

[162] Ibid., 35-36.

Kingdom of God on earth.

In Strong's opinion the success of the Salvation Army sprang from its capacity to meet men on the plane of their physical needs. He called the Salvation Army "the most remarkable phenomenon in the religious world during the last quarter of a century." Its methods had succeeded because they reflected a recognition of the fact that "souls inhabit bodies, by which they are profoundly influenced, and through which alone, in many cases, they can be reached."[163] The Salvation Army had recognized the importance of the physical factor in the great human problem, and yet had kept the spiritual values ever higher. The Christianity of the Salvation Army had not been separated from philanthropy as had been the Christianity of the churches, but it was "throughly philanthropic, and its philanthropy is thoroughly Christian."[164] Although Strong later wrote of the limitations of the Army because of its lack of social reform work, in this monograph concerned with methods, he analyzed and praised its singular success in reaching the masses with its aggressive house-to-house campaigning, going to the masses with the Gospel and adapting its language, music and methods of thought to their taste. Strong praised the Salvation Army for being, in its Pauline adaptation, all things to all men.[165]

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[163] Ibid., 120, 128.

[164] Ibid., 129.

[165] Ibid., 126-8.

Seeking the reason for the success of some religious movements, Strong concluded that the churches which were most successful in reaching the multitude were those that most effectively met the need of their environment.[166] Since the crowded city, with its resulting social, moral and industrial changes, was the new environment, the institutional church with its functional architecture and its social facilities represented the best adaptation of the church to the new social scene. The crowded tenement made it imperative that the church provide those facilities which the home could no longer supply.[167] Strong concluded that if the home fails "in the great social organism of the city" the successful church must undertake "the functions of the home."[168] Such a church, Strong was later to call a "socialized" church. In answer to critics of the institutional church, Strong hastened to point out that the spiritual value of institutional churches was not jeopardized because of their concern for the physical condition of their members. Choosing the growth of membership on confession of faith as the best available method of measuring spiritual values, he found the average Congregational institutional church of 1894 had had six times as many such new members as the average church of that denomination.[169]

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166. _Ibid._, 6.
167. _Ibid._, 48-50, 114-115.
168. _Ibid._, 47-48.
169. _Ibid._, 85.

Although Strong was confident that the adaptation of church methods to the new social civilization would undoubtedly come about slowly by "a practical common sense which does not stop to philosophize,"[170] he believed that if this change were consciously directed, it would take place more rapidly and effectively with resultant gain for social progress and civilization.[171] It was to speed the process that he had organized the League for Social Service. In his opinion there was an abundance of spiritual vitality in the existing church membership which could do much for society and which would become manifest as soon as the church recognized its social mission.[172] As long as the church rejected or remained indifferent to its new obligations, it would fail to reach the multitude with its saving influence. The church must direct its efforts to the whole of man--body and soul, physical and spiritual. For the first time, Strong now specifically equated the spiritual success of a church with its work in social reform. He concluded:

> as has been previously shown . . . it is the religious organization which does most for social betterment, that accomplishes most for moral and spiritual renovation.[173]

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[170] Ibid., 23.

[171] Ibid., 41.

[172] Ibid., 131-2, 135.

[173] Ibid., 130.

This monograph on Religious Movements for Social Betterment was so enthusiastically received in the United States that a second edition of the monograph was printed in book form in September, 1900.[174] Within a year the two thousandth copy had been printed.[175] Professor Henry B. Adams of Johns Hopkins University referred to Strong's work as "the best and latest of all authorities" for further study of the progressive social movement of the American church.[176] A. H. Merriam of Hartford Theological Seminary declared that the volume contained "a mass of information condensed--such as only the most painstaking work would furnish; just the thing to refer my students to."[177] Praise of the material as well as of the style was also received from newspapers, among which were the Topeka Capital, Detroit Free Press and the New York Observer. The Outlook believed Strong's account would promote progress "in degree as it shall obtain the wide circulation it deserves."[178]

The League for Social Service was obviously not a profit making organization. It charged only the minimum fees essential to cover the costs of its services;and exhibits such as that in Paris in 1900 were presented without any compensation.

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[174] Religious Movements, 6.

[175] See advertisement in Appendix, Times and Men.

[176] S.S., 2:2 (Oct.'00).

[177] See advertisement in Appendix, Times and Men.

[178] Ibid.; see also S.S., 2:2 (Aug.'00).

An appeal for funds to cover the daily operating expenses of the League was made in the March, 1900, issue of Social Service. In the December, 1901, issue its readers were told that the League had placed in the hands of the National Endowment Association, an organization which Strong had helped to establish, the work of raising an endowment of at least $500,000 for the League.[179] The League had been able to maintain its existence for the first three years because Strong and Tolman had been paid practically no salary.[180] By February, 1902, an endowment of the institute had not been secured and the League was faced with the prospect of discontinuing its valuable work for want of funds. Lyman Abbott, editor of The Outlook, expressed concern over the plight of the League and offered his help to continue its work.[181]

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[179] S.S., outside back cover (Dec.'01). An outline is presented of a National Endowment Association formed in 1901 with ex-governor Robert E. Patterson as president. Among the members were Strong, William deWitt Hyde (President of Bowdoin College), George Hodges (Dean of Cambridge), Father A. P. Doyle (Paulist Fathers), Rabbi Pereira Mendes (President of Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of the United States and Canada), H. H. Stebbins (President of New York State Federation of Churches), Francis E. Clark (President of Christian Endeavor Societies), Spencer Trask, Mornay Williams, Mary L. Dickinson, W. H. Rowe, and J. Winthrop Hegeman. The purpose of the organization was to secure through direct subscriptions and through life insurance endowments the adequate equipment of churches and educational institutions and movements which were strategic in social and religious development and also to secure pensions for clergymen and employees of various corporations. Its purpose was also to insure wise giving by careful discrimination and study of institutions. It was also claimed that the association "will submit and carry out definite propositions aiming to establish between corporations and their employees fraternal relations on a basis of the principles of the League of Social Service." Another stated purpose was to build up and to endow a lay service in the densely crowded districts of large cities.

[180] S.S., 5:99 (March'02).

In an effort to save the work that had been undertaken by Strong in 1898, the League was reorganized during the fall of 1902 "on a more substantial basis, with improved facilities" and incorporated under a charter from the University of the State of New York as an educational organization with the new title, the American Institute of Social Service.[182] The financial resources of the League were to be increased by the financial support, as well as actual participation in directing League policies, of business men who, regardless of denominational affiliation, were to become members of the League's executive committee. Included among the forty men and women on the Executive Committee were Andrew Carnegie, E. R. L. Gould, John S. Huyler, Stanley McCormick, Isaac N. Seligman, Spencer Trask, Robert C. Ogden, Washington Choate, James H. Hyde, M. E. Ingalls, Warner Van Norden, Walter H. Page, and V. Evritt Macy.[183] It was estimated that an annual expenditure of $30,000

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181. See letter from Lyman Abbott to Tolman, Feb. 11/02, S.S., 5:99 (March'02); see also Hopkins, Rise of Social Gospel, 260-1.

182. S.S., 8:91 (Dec.'03), Strong's "Inaugural."

183. Social Progress, 1905, 333.

was needed to carry on the work and the proposed expansion of its activities. The interest expressed by business men on learning of the proposed program of the Institute led to hope that ample funds would be given to the organization. As early as March, 1902, the League had declared that $7,700 had been subscribed. It listed as among the guarantors George Westinghouse, George F. Peabody, Robert C. Ogden, Robert F. Cutting, Edwin Ginn, Richard H. Newton, Phoebe Hearst and Helen M. Gould.[184] Strong was unanimously elected President of the Institute, although at one stage in the process of reorganization, it had been stated that "some large man of affairs" would be invited to take the presidency.[185] The first trustees of the Institute were the twenty-nine incorporators listed in the charter, among whom were such leading figures of the period as Abram S. Hewitt, Carroll D. Wright, Albert Shaw, Richard W. Gilder and William R. Corwine. A number of outstanding women were also trustees and supporters of the Institute, namely, Grace M. Dodge, Phoebe Hearst, Mary L. Dickinson, Caroline Hazard, Alice F. Palmer, Helen M. Gould and Mary E. Woolley.[186]

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[184] S.S., 5:99 (March'02). The organizing committee met in the home of Helen Miller Gould in September and October, 1902, see S.S., 6:76 (Oct.'02). Among those on the committee were Albert Shaw and Jacob Riis.

[185] S.S., 5:99 (March'02); 6:118 (Dec.'02); 8:96 (Dec.'03). The statement was made in Social Service that so many philanthropists, educators, men of affairs and students of social service were present at Strong's installation that there was only standing room for many. Dr. Lyman Abbott delivered the invocation and there were short speeches by Robert C. Ogden, William R. Corwine and Caroline Hazard. Letters of congratulation were received from Paris, Vienna, Copenhagen, Birmingham, Liverpool, Ghent, Stockholm and Nottingham. President Theodore Roosevelt wrote expressing his regret that he could not be present at the installation. For letters of congratulation see S.S., 7:14-19 (Jan.'03).

Although the League from its earliest days had received the cooperation of specialists in the field of social work in Europe, the Executive Committee of the Institute now elected fifty distinguished foreign scholars of social subjects as "collaborators" of the Institute for one year. This position involved corresponding with the Institute about social reforms. Men were elected to this position from Austria, Belgium, Denmark, England, France, Holland, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Japan, New Zealand, Russia, Scotland and Sweden.[187] Another new feature of the organization of the Institute, undoubtedly to popularize it, was the election each year of one hundred "associates," men and women distinguished for their public services or interest in social and industrial betterment. Among those elected to this position were Theodore Roosevelt, Grover Cleveland, Jane Addams, Francis G. Peabody, Graham Taylor, Cardinal Gibbons, Hamilton W. Mabie, John G. Brooks, Edward E. Hale, Booker T. Washington, David Starr Jordan, and Woodrow Wilson. All of these men praised the work of the Institute and expressed

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186. SS., 6:cover (Jan.'03).

187. S.S., 11:137-9 (Oct.'05); 12:13 (April'06); Social Progress, 1905, 333-4. Among the collaborators were Jules Siegfried, Emile Cheysson, Emil Levasseur, Sidney Webb, John B. Paton and Arthur Sherwell.

Photographed by W. A. Cooper

A luncheon to Baron Kaneko, one of the Collaborators of the American Institute, at its rooms. Reading from left to right: Richard Watson Gilder, Washington Choate, Charles Loring Brace, William Brewster, W. H. Tolman, H. S. Greer, Baron Kaneko, Josiah Strong, J. U. Johnson readiness to cooperate with and support its work.[188] Strong declared in his "Inaugural" that the League had been reorganized "on a more substantial basis, with improved facilities" and under a new name, the American Institute of Social Service.[189]

The aims of the Institute were the same as those of the League. The Institute hoped primarily to be of service in the readjustment of the various institutions of society to the new collective era by means of "the collection and interpretation of facts bearing on social and industrial betterment, and the dissemination of the resulting knowledge for the education of public opinion,"[190] as Strong wrote, "actively to diffuse light even when there is no consciousness that light is needed."[191] Strong declared at the time of the League's reorganization that in view of the specialization of the period what was needed to solve the critical social problems of the day was "a comprehensive survey of social conditions in general and of the numerous efforts to ameliorate them."[192] This need was to be supplied by the Institute. Strong, in his "Inaugural," saw

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188. S.S., 9:inside front cover (May'04); see S.S., 7:67-8 (March'03), for letters from Grover Cleveland, Cardinal Gibbons, Booker T. Washington, Woodrow Wilson and Graham Taylor.

189. S.S., 8:91 (Dec.'03).

190. S.S., 6:cover (Jan.'03), object as stated in charter.

191. S.S., 8:93 (Dec.'03), "Inaugural."

192. Josiah Strong, "The American Institute of Social Service," S.S., 6:66 (Oct.'02).

the fundamental principle and purpose of the Institute to be that of making "the experience of all available for the instruction of each."[193]

Under its reorganization, however, the Institute expanded its numerous departments and added new methods of doing its work. Strong believed that the education of public opinion was "the generic social reform, including all others," and thus the new departments of the Institute were primarily methods of enlightening public opinion. The new departments proposed were those of Investigations, an enlarged Lecture Bureau, Training School for Social Secretaries, Comparative Legislation, International Relations and a Department of Security.[194] Strong, while proposing these new departments, realistically advised that they could not be realized at once, since so comprehensive an institution was a matter of growth. He also advised that with further development of the work of the Institute many more departments were likely to be added.[195] Departments that did materialize were an expanded Lecture Bureau, a Department of International Relations and a Department of Security. New departments not contemplated in 1903 but which later developed were a course for social workers, Social Service Evenings and a Social Service Club.

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[193] S.S., 8:92 (Dec.'03), "Inaugural"; 9:inside front cover (May'04).

[194] S.S., 6:118 (Dec.'02).

[195] S.S., 6:71, 67 (Dec.'02).

Although Strong's hope of educating public opinion by endowed traveling lectureships was never realized, Strong and Tolman lectured in leading cities in Maine in January, 1905, at the request of a professor at the State University. In August, 1905, Strong also delivered fifteen addresses on social subjects in various cities on the Pacific coast in connection with the Lewis and Clark Exposition of that year. Strong expressed confidence that "far-reaching results in the education of public opinion" would be accomplished as a result of some ninety or more addresses delivered by officers of the Institute in 1905 to audiences at universities, theological seminaries, church conferences, YMCA's, clubs and Chautauqua assemblies, "audiences of exceptional intelligence and influence."[196]

In response to the "increasing demand for illustrated lectures," the Institute established a course of prepared materials suitable for reading lectures. Each lecture was accompanied with about eighty slides. The combination of lecture and slides was intended for use by clubs, schools, churches, labor unions and social organizations. The subjects for the reading courses emphasized the problems of city living, namely, "Home Possibilities in American Cities," "Beauty, a Civic Asset, or Village and Roadside Improvement" and "Some Neglected Factors in Social Hygiene."[197]

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[196] S.S., 12:9-12 (March'06), Annual Report.

[197] S.S., 12:1 (Jan.'06).

Evidence of the Institute's deep concern for world problems and of its belief that the social and industrial problems of the day were largely common to all countries was the creation by 1906 of a Department of International Social Information. This department was even more extended in scope than had been the department proposed at the time of the reorganization of the League in 1902. The new department was to be in effect an international social and industrial clearing-house, for it was "to furnish a needed exchange of thought and knowledge between workers and students in all departments of social activity in the various countries."[198]

From its earliest days, the League had constantly sought information from foreign scholars for the enlightenment of social reformers in the United States. Under its new plan the material collected and collated by the International Secretary of the Department, William D. P. Bliss, was to be made easily available for use by students in all countries by the publication annually of a year-book of social reform, Social Progress. Social Progress had been published by the Institute in 1904 primarily as a year-book of national reform. Its purpose, Strong stated, was that of annually bringing up to date the Encyclopedia of Reform which had been edited by Bliss in 1898. The volume gave statistics and facts on all lines of social

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198. S.S., 12:13 (April'06); 6:70 (Oct.'02); see also frontis-page of Social Progress, 1906.

advance--religious, moral, educational, economic, commercial, legislative--with a pointed analysis of the statistics showing "tendencies" and "rates" of advance in each line of development. It was hoped that the year-book would become "indispensable to every editor, teacher, preacher, student and man of affairs who desires to keep abreast of the great social movements which are revolutionizing society, creating a new civilization and remaking the world."[199] The importance of the book was recognized in 1905 by a gold medal at the St. Louis World's Fair. With the creation of the new international department, Social Progress became primarily an international year-book with the section on the United States as but one of the numerous sections discussing various countries throughout the world. The year-book was also the major medium of accomplishing the aims of the department.[200]

In order to obtain accurate and up-to-date information, the Institute invited selected experts to cooperate in developing an international exchange of social information and social thought by preparing and sending annually a brief report on a a given specialty to the International Secretary. In return for

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199. Social Progress, 1905, Preface.

200. The new emphasis on international information is seen in the change of the title of Social Progress from Social Progress A Year Book and Encyclopedia of Economic, Industrial, Social and Religious Statistics 1905 to Social Progress An International Year Book of Economic, Industrial, Social and Religious Statistics 1906.

his service, the foreign correspondent would be made a member of the Institute for a fee of one dollar. He would receive Social Progress, bibliographies, letters of introduction, and, upon application to the International Secretary, information on any social subject for any country. In addition, if the correspondent visited the United States, he would be able to use the rooms and all the privileges of the Institute and, if he visited other foreign countries, he would be given important addresses, special directions and sociological information.[201] Social reformers, statesmen and industrialists in every major European country and in Russia, New Zealand and Japan became correspondents or "collaborators." By June, 1906, the Institute stated that its new plan of international exchange of ideas was meeting with a ready response.[202] By the end of the year, however, the Institute had to economize because of lack of funds and ceased publication of Social Progress. With the addition of the Department of International Social Relations, the Institute was utilizing all of its resources to make "the experience of all available for each" on a world-wide basis.

A Museum of Security, suggested by Strong as a new department at the time of the reorganization of the League in 1902, was thereafter repeatedly advocated by both Strong and Tolman in articles and lectures. This Museum of Security was to be

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201. S.S., 12:13 (April'06); Social Progress, 1906, frontispage.

202. Social Progress, 1905, 333-4; Social Progress, 1906, 289-90; S.S., 12:22 (June'06); 12:20 (May'06).

an instrument in defeating what Strong believed was the selfish "indifference" of the public and of the average employer in the United States to industrial accidents and to the subject of devices of safety for preventing such accidents. In Strong's opinion the indifference which took needless industrial accidents for granted was "industrial barbarism."[203] The Museum of Security would prevent accidents by keeping on permanent display, for the inspection of employers, working models of various devices for guarding the life and limbs of workers. Steps would also be taken by this department to arouse public opinion by investigation and publicizing of industrial accidents, by suggesting improvements in laws and by offering prizes for the best inventions in the interest of safety.[204] Strong declared that the United States was a whole generation behind Europe in safety legislation and in establishing an industrial safety museum. Expositions of safety devices existed in France, Germany,

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[203] Josiah Strong, "Accidents to Life and Limb," S.S., 9:1-3 (Jan.'04). This article was actually an address delivered by Strong at a Social Service Evening. For other articles by Strong on industrial safety see "Industrial Barbarism in the United States," S.S., 13:4 (July'06); "Our Industrial Juggernaut," North American Review, 183:1030-36 (Nov.16/06); Museums of Security," Charities and the Commons, 17:812-15 (Feb.'07). See also comments and editorials in S.S., 6:72-3 (Oct.'02); 12:17-18 (May '06); 13:6 (Aug.'06).

[204] Strong, "American Institute," S.S., 6:7 (Oct.'02).

Austria, Holland and Russia.[205] The Institute believed that the time had come for the establishment of a Museum of Security in the United States. It collected photographs, specialized reports, documents and publications, and by 1904 it sought the support of some generous American business man to provide a building to house the Institute's collection. It hoped to expand the enterprise into a collection of models and protective machines in actual operation.[206]

In an effort to awaken the public to the necessity of a permanent museum, and to secure support, the Institute held an Exposition of Safety Devices and Industrial Hygiene at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City from January 28 to February 9, 1907. The exposition consisted of models of machines in operation as well as photographs of actual machines and safety devices. The active cooperation of European Museums of Safety and of American manufacturers was secured as well as that of Grover Cleveland, C. P. Neill of the U. S. Bureau of Labor, T. S. Sherman, Labor Commissioner of New York, and the governors of New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut and New

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[205] S.S., 9:3 (Jan.'04); 13:1-4 (July'06); Strong, "Industrial Barbarism," S.S., 13:4 (July'06); Strong, "Industrial Juggernaut," North American Review, 183:1034 (Nov.16/06); Strong, "Museums of Security," Charities, 17:812-14 (Feb.'07).

[206] S.S., 9:3 (Jan.'04); 12:18 (March'06); also Tolman, "Museums of Security in Amsterdam, Munich, Berlin," S.S., 9:13 (Jan.'04).

Jersey.[207] Strong commented that an ever-increasing attendance attested to an increasing interest of the public in the exhibit.. He wrote that "Professional inspectors came to see it, from Canada and from many parts of the United States, from cities as far removed as St. Paul, New Orleans, and San Francisco."[208] Applications for the loan of the exhibit came from Chicago and Boston, and it was sent to both cities. Richard Watson Gilder, a member of the Institute, writing to friends in Minneapolis in February, 1907, told of his interest in the display and said, "I am sure it will attract much attention in Chicago and do much good. The exhibition should be seen in every important centre in the country."[209] Evidence of the success of the exposition is seen in the fact that by the end of the next year a permanent Museum of Security had been established in New York City on Thirty-Ninth Street. Although Tolman worked together with Strong for industrial safety, the New York Times in 1916 credited Strong with having founded the "Safety-First Movement" and having originated the term "Safety-First."[210]

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[207] S.S., 13:1-2, cover (Nov.-Dec.'06); editorial in Charities and Commons, 17:882 (Feb.'07); Strong "Industrial Juggernaut," North Amer. Rev., 183: 1036.

[208] Josiah Strong, "A Museum of Safety Devices and Industrial Hygiene," Homiletic Review, 55:193-4 (March'08).

[209] Rosamond Gilder, ed., Letters of Richard Watson Gilder (Boston, 1916), 445. See also letter by Richard W. Gilder, June 5/05, stating he was a member of the Institute, 367-8.

New features in the methods of the Institute that had not been contemplated at the time of the reorganization were a course for social workers given by the Institute, monthly Social Service Evenings and a Social Service Club. In March, 1906, the Institute announced that for that year it would undertake an experiment "of opening its facilities for a selected number of special students in Applied Social Economy." Young women of independent means who desired to go into some form of practical social service were to spend the morning in practical service at the Institute under its direction and instruction and in the free afternoon hours they were expected to visit the institutions studied.[211] Another new service started by the Institute was the discussion in a popular manner at Social Service Evenings of various subjects illustrating activities of the Institute. These meetings were held once a month at the Institute's quarters. Among the topics discussed at these meetings were the Museum of Security, work of social settlements, the meaning of "social secretary" and Strong's tour of the

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[210] William D. P. Bliss and Rudolph M. Binder, ed., The New Encyclopedia of Social Reform including All Social-Reform Movements And Activities, And the Economic, Industrial, And Sociological Facts and Statistics Of All Countries And All Social Subjects. New Edition (New York, 1908), 37, 805; see also New York Times, April 29, 1916, 11/5 and John Haynes Holmes, "Josiah Strong," Dictionary of American Biography, 18:151.

[211] S.S., 12:11 (March'06), Annual Report.

Turkish Empire.[212] In December, 1905, the librarian of the Institute formed a Social Service Club with the dual object of giving individuals an opportunity to do social work and of collecting needed information. A subject was selected for the year 1906, namely, the Italian in New York, which was then divided into eleven topics. Each topic was to be investigated by a special committee which was to send in a report at the end of the year. The material collected was then to be published.[213]

Three methods suggested by Strong for accomplishing the Institute's aims apparently did not materialize. Although the Institute did popularize the profession of social secretary and place many in such positions, it never actually set up a training school for social secretaries as Strong had hoped. Also failing to be realized was a new department devoted to investigations. This, when fully equipped, was to have had a corps of trained investigators who were to study social institutions and movements at the original sources. Thus Strong planned that in case of a strike or other industrial complication

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[212] S.S., 8:97 (Dec.'03); 9:4-5 (Jan.'04). Strong spoke on the Museum of Security as listed in S.S., 9:29 (Feb.'04), 52-3 (March'04), 70 (April'04). Strong spoke on his trip to the Holy Land and Turkey, S.S., 4:93 (Sept.'01), 16 (Dec.'01); see also Josiah Strong, "Glimpses of the Sultan's Empire," S.S., 5:11 (July '02), and New York Tribune, April 24, 1902, 4/6 and May 8, 1902, 9/4. The League sponsored a cruise to the Bible lands in February, 1902.

[213] S.S., 12:3 (Jan.'06).

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affecting the community, special delegates would be sent "to study on the spot, with scientific accuracy and absolute impartiality, the origin and the result of the difficulty."[214]

Perhaps, the most vitally needed new department that did not materialize was that of comparative legislation. Based on his fundamental belief that men should profit in all ways possible from the experience of others, Strong saw the need for a Department of Comparative Legislation. This department would have supplied data for "scientific legislation," that is, legislation that profited by the experience of the effect of laws already in operation, by making a comparative study of the social legislation passed by the various states in the United States and by different nations. Strong believed that existing methods of legislation were at fault by producing laws which lacked effective enforcement provisions, which conflicted with those in other states on the same subject and which ignored the new rights and duties of the new civilization. He maintained that what legislators needed was "predigested information--not the arguments of interested lobbyists, but the findings of disinterested experts."[215]

Strong saw in this comparative study of legislation a means ensuring the constitutionality of social legislation at the hands of the courts. The work of this department would make it possible "to enact many laws so obviously scientific, so demonstrably fit, that a modernized court would no more think of declaring them unconstitutional than it would of declaring unconstitutional Magna Charta."[216] Strong urged the courts, nevertheless, "to discover the twentieth century," for if adaptation to the new civilization were too long delayed by the legislatures or the courts, he warned, "the only alternative is violent revolution."[217] A comparative study of laws and their results "would naturally lead to the survival of the fittest legislation"; in other words, the best laws of each state would tend to become general. The Institute could be of active service in helping states to profit by the experience of those states already advanced in a particular line of social reform. The Institute "with necessary funds" could educate public opinion so as to secure the desired social legislation in a state, much as it had done in its anti-Mormon campaign of 1899. To make effective such enlightened public opinion, Strong became active in 1908 in the New York State group for the adoption of the initiative and the referendum as well as in 1914 in the Religious Citizenship League, holding the office of

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[214] Strong, "American Institute," S.S., 6:67 (Oct.'02).

[215] World-Life, 226, 91; Strong, "American Institute," S.S., 6:68 (Oct.'02); 8:94 (Dec.'03), "Inaugural," 13:1 (Oct.'06), editorial by Strong.

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216. World-Life, 227; S.S., 13:2 (Oct.'06).

217. World-Life, 227, 213, 214, 222.

vice-president in both groups.[218]

Strong believed that his project for the study of social legislation should have world-wide application. He stated that the United States was bound "by every obligation of humanity and religion" to give the benefit of its experience to the areas in which the industrial revolution was just beginning, thus forestalling preventable evils "which if not thus prevented would prove to be far more disastrous in the Orient than they have been in the Occident."[219] Strong envisioned the establishment of Departments of Comparative Legislation in Institutes in every "civilized" nation in the world, with the result that

> fundamental laws would gradually come to embody the legislative wisdom of the world, the experience and the will of all peoples. They could not fail, therefore, to grow in dignity, sacredness and strength; and an affront to such laws would come to be considered an insult to humanity.[220]

The action which several states had taken by 1906 in establishing legislative reference departments was highly commended by Strong; nevertheless, he maintained they could not

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218. S.S., 8:93 (Dec.'03), "Inaugural"; on the Religious Citizenship League see Gos. of K., 6:11-12 (Jan.'14); on the New York State group for the initiative and the referendum see B. O. Flower, "The Direct Legislation Movement," Arena, 39:658 (June'08).

219. S.S., 8:94 (Dec.'03), "Inaugural"; World-Life, 227.

220. S.S., 13:2 (Oct.'06).

possibly have the facilities necessary for a thoroughly scientific study of legislation. What Strong urged in 1906 was the creation by endowment of a National Museum of Comparative Legislation. Such a museum would provide a huge reservoir of facts from which each state reference department could draw. Such a museum would thus avoid the needless duplication implicit in the attempts of forty-eight separate state bureaus to become all inclusive. It would meet needs not only of the various states but of Congress and the territories as well. Such an organization would also fill the great need for a non-partisan group to push through all the state legislatures laws whose value had been already demonstrated. Strong urged that one organization, national in scope, be established and be equipped with the resources of a Museum of Comparative Legislation. He suggested it have an executive body of eminent men of both political parties, of all faiths and representing capital and labor.[221] Strong's project was praised by President Theodore Roosevelt, Carroll D. Wright, Senator William P. Frye, Justice Brewer, Grover Cleveland and Richard W. Gilder.[222] Neither the Institute's Department of Comparative Legislation nor the National Museum was ever established. "A practically boundless opportunity" for the Institute to aid the readjustment to the new industrial age by making possible "scientific legislation" was lost. The comments of Richard W. Gilder perhaps provide the reason. He wrote:

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[221] S.S., 13:2-3 (Oct.'06).

[222] S.S., 13:3-4 (Oct.'06).

> The Institute seems to me truly a clearing-house for human betterment. I have seen, from month to month, and year to year, evidence of its practical usefulness. Similar institutions, some of which have been inspired by the work of the American Institute, have already been endowed, while in this country, where the field is so much wider, the Institute is living from hand to mouth.[223]

Perhaps Strong's clearly expressed disapproval of the acceptance of "tainted money" by any organization offers some explanation of the Institute's financial plight.[224]

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[223] *S.S.*, 13:4 (Oct.'06).

[224] Strong, "The Problem of 'Tainted' Money," *Homiletic Review*, 69:422-5 (June'05). This article was also printed as a leaflet. See also Pierson, *Forward Movements*, 124. Pierson stated that "for believers to depend upon unconsecrated money to carry on God's work is contrary to the expressed will of God."

CHAPTER THREE

Strong's Social Christianity Applied:
The Twentieth-Century City.

Although the efforts toward social and industrial betterment of the League for Social Service and the American Institute of Social Service were vital to the realization of the Kingdom, Strong seldom allowed an issue of Social Service to be published without a word written by him emphasizing that the most essential need of the times was a conversion of the spirit to the social gospel. Social Service and the other agencies of the League championed action and application of Christian principles in social and industrial reform. Yet through Social Service the League and its various departments never ceased to instruct as to exactly what these correct principles of reform were.

An essential premise of Strong's social gospel, with its demand for an awakened social conscience, was his view of the nature of society and of social problems. In theological terms, he wrote of the Kingdom philosophy with its themes of the unity of the sacred and the secular, the immanence of God, the perfectibility of man and the realization of the Kingdom ideal on earth. In scientific terms, he wrote of science as God's revelation, of the reign of natural law and of the existence and possible discovery of the laws of society and life. Strong saw in his social gospel philosophy a means of harmonizing science and theology. In 1901 he wrote that the twentieth century would see a resurgence of faith, but, he declared:

> not the superstitious faith of the dark ages, which fled before the light of modern science, but a rational faith, which can abide the light because it has learned to believe in a God of law and a God of love.[1]

Strong believed that science was a tool in man's hands aiding him in his constant struggle to know God's laws of life and society and thus "enabling man . . . to become a co-labourer with him, an assistant creator, in perfecting humanity and its dwelling place," that is, when man's heart had been enlarged with love.[2]

Strong believed there was no contradiction between science and religion, but instead that one was the perfect supplement of the other. "The truths of science," he said, "are God's truths . . . its laws are God's laws."[3] The discoveries and principles of science were a continual revelation from God of God's purposes and methods. This progressive revelation of God through science meant also that theology would grow. Thus, with the application of the scientific method to nature and the scriptures, the Divine Aim and the Divine Method were brought to light. Strong considered the Kingdom idea, as the Divine Aim, and the social gospel, as the Divine Method, to have been the two revelations of God in modern times.[4] Strong urged the church to recognize the divine nature of science and of the scientific method. As a revelation from God, science was to play as real a part in the coming of the Kingdom among men as the New Testament. He believed that the "church ought to leap for joy that in modern times God has raised up these new prophets of his truth."[5] For twentieth century man, this "new evangel of science" was revealing the world as one of a universal reign of law and of God's will expressed in natural law, which will, expressed in natural law, is "as benevolent and as sacred as his will expressed in what we call moral law."[6] Nature's laws were God's instruments and what man called his conquest of nature was only obedience to nature's laws. Strong refuted deism, which concluded, from the discovery of the reign of law, that there was no room for the providence of a personal God in the midst of human affairs. Strong concluded rather that the reign of law gave man a God who was neither apart from human affairs nor who visited men from time to time in "special" providences, but, instead, a God who was immanent in nature and active in human affairs in the incidents of daily life, " purposing, guiding, overruling, accomplishing."[7] The new study of Christ and the rediscovery of his social teachings in the late nineteenth century were "the timing of Providence" so that the evolving new era might "indeed be the fuller coming of the Kingdom."[8] All the events of the world were "God's great alphabet by which, when the letters have been laid together, we spell out the meaning of history and trace the coming of his Kingdom."[9] And Strong saw, as the key to the meaning of life, God's desire for "men to live in perfect harmony with all the laws of their being."[10]

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[1] Times and Men, 238-9; World Religion, 503, 501; World-Life, ix. Strong stated that he expected to write a third volume in his Our World series devoted to showing that science confirmed the social teachings of Jesus.

[2] World-Religion, 500, 21, 25, 37; World-Life, 82.

[3] New Era, 11; Times and Men, 217-18, 193; Religious Movements, 17.

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[4] World-Religion, 6, 395; Times and Men, 42-3; Next Great Awakening, 24; My Religion, 33, 38.

[5] New Era, 12.

[6] Ibid.

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[7] Next Great Awakening, 102, 104, 27-8, see 27, for a statement by Strong that natural law gave man "an immanent God, in whom we live and more and more have our being--one who is not far enough from us even to be near, but who lives within us." See also World-Religion, 8, 18; My Religion, 48, 49, 54.

[8] New Era, 113.

[9] World-Religion, 514; World-Life, 7.

[10] New Era, 230, in World-Religion, 198-206, Strong developed the theme that God's purpose is free wills which are strong, strong wills which are autonomous, and autonomous wills which are benevolent.

Strong's faith in the eventual realization of the Kingdom on earth based on his Biblical studies, found confirmation, Strong believed, in science's promise of unlimited, indefinite progress. The greater the number of natural laws man came to know and obey, laws of nature as well as of individual and social life, the more would society be brought into harmony with its own being, the more would man have liberty, and the more would society actualize its highest possibilities, eventually reaching its social ideal of the Kingdom.[11] Armed with the revelations of science, man could, as a co-laborer with God, "consciously and intelligently shape his dwelling-place and himself with a view to realizing the divine ideal for both. . . . Man is evidently capable of indefinite progress; and the earth is capable of indefinite transformation."[12] In so far as science gave man the knowledge of exact laws, it gave man the gift of prophecy, the ability in large measure to shape the future of the race. Facts, themselves, "God's alphabet," enabled man to "decipher tendencies and tendencies are prophetic."[13] Strong asked why, if vast changes in both man and society had taken place in the past, might not vaster

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11. New Era, 230; World-Religion, 187-8, 111; World-Life, 56, 65; Times and Men, 217; Challenge of City, 86; My Religion, 47.

12. World-Religion, 29-30.

13. World-Life, 53; on faith in social science and statistics see New Era, 53, also Social Progress, 1905, Preface.

changes take place in the longer future. He wrote:

> if we may not reach absolute perfection, the law of progress is a promise that we may always more and more closely approximate it. Jesus . . . did not hesitate to hold up the standard of absolute perfection. He said, 'Be ye, therefore, perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect.'[14]

God's will would be done on earth when love brought perfect human life and when obedience to the natural laws discovered by science brought perfect conditions. Man had nothing to fear from change in the material world or in the world of ideas, theology included. No change was "beyond God's knowledge or the scope of his plan or the wide reach of his power." While in ages past good men were disturbed by changes which challenged their long established beliefs, Strong asserted, "we are now enabled to see that those changes were but the revolutions of God's great chariot-wheels, bearing the world onward toward the goal of his beneficent purposes."[15]

Among the various natural laws discovered by science, Strong declared the broadest and most basic of all to be that of the law of unity in diversity. To Strong the very law of the universe itself was "One from Many" which meant "not the oneness of identity . . . but the oneness of coördination; not unison but harmony."[16] Strong declared that the law, already perfectly illustrated in the material world, was as yet the unrealized ideal of the moral world. It was "the goal toward which the race has thus far slowly moved."[17] In terms of social evolution and progress, Strong saw this law to mean that progress, itself, depended on "the differentiation of the individual and the higher organization of society made possible thereby."[18] Strong believed that these two principles of the development of the individual and the development of the organization of society were the key to an understanding of history. He saw the problem of civilization, past and present, to be that of finding a method of coordinating individual freedom with the organization of society. In all ages before the twentieth century, he explained, one thread had been stressed during various periods to the neglect of the other. Society thus advanced in the development of one of the two principles at a time. Strong emphasized that the two principles were not conflicting but were coordinate principles, both were equally important and necessary for the perfecting of the race. In modern society, men were "unconsciously seeking" to harmonize individualism and organization and seeking so to readjust social and economic relations as to coordinate the two seemingly conflicting principles. What was needed was the application of the teachings of Christ to the problem. What was needed was love as the attracting power in the moral universe and the harmonizing principle "which makes possible a unity in the midst of endless diversity."[19]

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[14] World-Life, 80.

[15] Times and Men, 42-3; World-Religion, 268.

[16] World-Life, 174; New Era, 18, 19; World-Religion, 111, 187-8.

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[17] New Era, 19.

[18] Religious Movements, 39, 50; World-Life, 174, 201, 186. Strong referred to the law of progress as that of "increasing differentiation with integration," see Times and Men, 220-4, New Era, 115, 116, 27-8, 81, World-Life, 188.

Strong wrote of the twentieth century as "a new era" in the history of the race because for the first time, with the development of communication and transportation, the tendency existed for the development of both principles at the same time.[20] Strong believed that if man applied the scientific method to all fields of study, laws would be found which if obeyed would being harmony to society. Thus, in nature and in society, evolution was the law and method of progress.[21] In unmoral nature, the law of sacrifice was found in the sacrifice of the unfit for the fit; in the moral world of man, the law of sacrifice must become that of the self-sacrifice of the fittest for the unfit through disinterested love.[22] Strong believed that this theory of natural selection, the struggle for life, had passed from the biological field to the economic where the competitive industrial struggle was taking

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19. New Era, 116, 162, 133.

20. Ibid., 29, 115-116.

21. Times and Men, 215-16, 103, 224; New Era, 10.

22. Times and Men, 230. Here Strong stated that he agreed with Professor Thomas Henry Huxley's thesis in Evolution and Ethics; World-Religion, 492-3, 176, 178-9.

place. But in the economic field, this struggle would force specialization of nations and eventually lead to a world-life, interdependence and cooperation.[23] Natural laws existed, Strong concluded, regarding the birth rate, population movement, pauperism, crime and even regarding amusements. Christian service, as taught by Strong, while recognizing a benefit to man from amusement that afforded enjoyment as well as recreation, forbade "all _such_ enjoyment of subordinate ends as would impair their effectiveness as means to higher ends." This principle, Strong asserted, was "the law of pleasure."[24] What was needed was "a science of society." Man's good intentions were not enough. He warned that "Ignorant and blundering goodness is often as mischievous as well-schooled villainy. A big heart is not all that is necessary to make a successful philanthropist."[25] The study of society and its laws was necessary for "the good" to become "the wise."

A constant theme which Strong developed in his articles in _Social Service_ and in his books was the idea of society as a social organism "which lives one vast life, of which every man is a part."[26] This organic view of society, demanding as a corollary a social viewpoint on the part of all institutions of society, was the scientific confirmation of the Second Commandment stressed by Jesus and the social gospel. The fundamental principle of every living organism was that of each for all and all for each, expressed in laws of service and sacrifice. Therefore in society, which is "a vast organism, of which individual men and women are the cells, . . . these social cells must obey the law of service, if the social organism is to have health."[27] Strong was convinced that in view of the basic change of society from an individualistic to a collective type brought about by the industrial revolution in the nineteenth century a recognition of the interdependence of the individual in society and the need of social responsibility were a dire necessity. Strong considered many of the threatening social evils of the day to be the result of retaining the old individualistic spirit of "every man for himself" in disregard of the new social conditions. Since survival depended upon adaptation, Strong warned that only those institutions which acknowledged the new conditions of society and its laws could hope to live.[28] Because man's

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[23] _World-Life_, 44; _Expansion_, 240.

[24] _Times and Men_, 155; _World-Life_, 164, 29-30; _New Era_, 285; _20C City_, 41.

[25] _New Era_, 37; see _S.S._, 3:193 (June'01) for Strong's _review_ of Arthur _Fairbanks_, _Introduction to Sociology_ (1901).

[26] _S.S._, 3:89 (April'01).

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27. S.S., 2:7 (July'00), 3 (Feb.'00); 3:193 (June'01). For Strong's organic view of society see New Era, 39, Times and Men, 106-9, Challenge of City, 174-8, 170, 20C City, 123-5, 117, 140, World-Life, 92, 95, World-Religion, 60, Next Great Awakening, 88, 102.

28. For Strong's views on the change of society see Challenge of City, 179, 20C City, 131-2, Times and Men, 27, 38, 53, 230, 234, Religious Movements, 14. For Strong's views on the need of adaptation see S.S., 2:5 (March'00).

will could introduce through selfishness disobedience to the laws of the social organism, Strong maintained, disorders resulted. Obedience to the basic laws of service and sacrifice, which would be perfect obedience to the laws of the social organism and thus a perfect society, could be achieved only by rooting out selfishness through teaching Jesus' principle of "disinterested love."

Strong gave particular attention to the laws of love, service and sacrifice in his teaching of the social gospel. He often made reference in his discussions of these laws to their existence in the natural world as well as in the spiritual world and then concluded that they should become the law of man in whom the natural and the spiritual combine. Reference to the fact that the social laws of Jesus could be found in nature was given emphasis for the first time in Strong's volume, The Times and Young Men, published in 1901.[29] The volume resulted from an address given by Strong to the YMCA in New York City in the winter of 1900. Strong's major purpose in the book was to convince his audience of the relation to all of life of the laws of love and sacrifice expressed through the law of service. While the law of service working through the law of sacrifice functioned mechanically in the natural world, in the human world, Strong asserted, the law of love must be the motive of the action of the other two. Strong

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29. Times and Men, 73-4, 187, 84-9.

showed that Jesus had taught and exemplified these three principles. The acceptance of the laws of love, service and sacrifice by men would solve all personal problems, and, thus, solve all social problems which actually sprang from the relations of man toward his fellow man.[30] Strong first expressed his ideas on the subject of the laws of service and sacrifice in The Twentieth Century City.[31] Now in The Times and Young Men, he made the meaning of these laws particularly clear by specifically showing young men how to apply them in relation to their education, occupations, amusement, wealth and allocation of time.[32]

Again in this volume Strong cited the processes of nature in an attempt this time to make perfectly clear the steps by which a soul came to be in the state of unselfishness or "disinterested love." Strong showed that just as in nature everything must die unto itself and be touched by life from a higher stage of existence, so too, must man, to enter the Kingdom, first prepare himself by complete self-surrender to God's will in order for God's love then to reach down and fill the vacuum left by the death of self.[33] Once self-will had been surrendered to God's will, man's perfection and with it that of the world was limitless. Although Strong placed great faith in man's possibilities and capabilities once he had been "reborn," man could never "purchase" that condition by offering church services or by worship though done for an eternity. Such a "new birth" was possible only by God's raising men to a higher level, to the life of the Kingdom, through God's love.[34] "Disinterested love" was a condition of heart impossible to earn. This condition did not evolve, but came "from above." Thus for the laws of love, service and sacrifice to become effective in the life of man as they were in nature and as a result to transform the world, they must not only be accepted intellectually by man, but must in experience become a change of heart. It was not enough, Strong maintained, merely to contemplate God's truths as taught by Christ and continually revealed by the discoveries of science. These truths must be put to work in society aiding human life, for only in such experience did they, indeed, become truth. Man could and must become a co-laborer with God for the realization of the Kingdom.

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[30] Times and Men, chapters 9, 10, 11, also 98-114.

[31] 20C City, 125-30; in New Era, chapter 6, Strong had written in terms of the need of the recognition of the Second Commandment of Jesus as just as essential as the First Commandment.

[32] Times and Men, 135, 143, 151, 156.

In harmony with his view of society as an organism, Strong cautioned that any change in the institutions of society must be a guided evolutionary change. In the days when socialists and anarchists were advocating sudden and radical changes, Strong called his view "progressive conservatism." The significance of the many reform movements of the early twentieth century, Strong told the readers of Social Service, was that society had arrived at self-consciousness and with it an awareness of maladjustments and frictions and of social laws. In previous ages, humanity had been forced upwards by circumstances in an unconscious evolution. Now man, possessing the knowledge of the laws of man's development, could consciously and intelligently order the development of society. Now that man was learning all the laws of life through religion and science, Strong questioned the inevitability of the "historic round" of civilizations to rise, degenerate and die.[35] Because society, the social organism, grew and was not made suddenly, all attempts to reconstruct society had to be by methods of social evolution. Sudden change and violence could not remedy social ills. A new social system could not be completely detailed and made ready for instant substitution in the place of the old. Strong believed that man could modify, help, or hinder the progress of civilization, but he could not break from the past no matter how much he might wish to do so. Strong called

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[33] Times and Men, 73-4, 187, 187-91.

[34] Ibid., 174-5.

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35. World-Life, 3-4; Strong explained the decay of civilizations from the fact that the moral and spiritual life did not balance the physical and did not utilize it for ends above itself, see Our Country, 108, 121; New Era, 38; 20C City, 16, 72; Next Great Awakening, 34, 48.

the "unwise good" those reformers who would destroy the evils of existing institutions by abolishing the institutions (industrial system, church, state, family) themselves. He declared:

> All such reformers stand in suffering need of the truth that evolution is the method of social progress. When the scientific method is more generally known, there will be fewer patent systems for the salvation of society, fewer fools with the amazing and amusing conceit to say, "When the world accepts my system," and there will be fewer fools to run after them.[36]

Strong explained that it was for the very purpose of helping the various institutions readjust gradually to the new social conditions that the League for Social Service had been organized.[37] Strong stated that the method of adjustment was one of experiment in legislation, government, sanitation, philanthropy, religion, reform and in the reconciliation of capital and labor. All results, he further asserted, successes or failures, "cast some ray of light on the great problem of readjustment. The League serves as a lens to gather up these scattered rays, focus them, and then reflect them to all who are willing to profit by other people's experience."[38] The League in its capacity as a social clearing-house was to

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36. Times and Men, 216, 214, 103, 224; New Era, 10; S.S., 1:17 (Nov.'99); 2:3 (Feb.'00); 2:7-10 (June'00).

37. S.S., 2:7 (July'00); Strong, "Why the League for Social Service," S.S., 5:43 (Sept.'02).

38. S.S., 5:43 (Sept.'02).

be a reservoir of experience in which facts bearing on the great problems of readjustment were gathered, interpreted, and then disseminated to educate public opinion.

At the same time that he sought to direct public opinion to demand social reform and take an active part in social reforms, Strong believed it was vitally necessary to instruct public opinion as to the basic nature and cause of social disorders. He firmly maintained that reformers had to attack the root of social evils to make their work of lasting consequence. Strong taught that all the "ills of life" were "the thorns which God has set along these paths to turn us back when we wander from them." Social ills were "the penalties of violated law."[39] They were an abnormal condition of society resulting from man's disregard of God's law, through ignorance or selfishness. The slum, itself, was born "of the ignorance and sin of a materialistic civilization."[40] Selfishness, self-will, self-seeking were the essence of personal sin and of discord between nations, races, classes and capital and labor. Selfishness was basically disobedience to the law of service, and social disorders existed because "social cells," endowed with intelligence and will, refused to obey the law basic to all organisms--

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39. New Era, 230; see S.S., 6:71 (Oct.'02) for Strong's reference to and acceptance of Herbert Spencer's idea that society is governed and grows by vital laws which are discovered, not invented.

40. Challenge of City, 55; World-Religion, 189; S.S., 2:7 (July'00).

service. Strong believed that "strictly speaking, the social question is the question of men's relations with each other," relations which had become more complex, more world-wide, and, above all, more vitally in need of readjustment since the coming of the new industrial civilization. It was man's concern for self which overshadowed a much needed concern for others that caused social ills. Strong declared, "The world is sick with selfishness."[41]

Believing in the eventual realization on earth of Jesus' social ideal of the Kingdom, Strong confidently maintained that no social evil was inevitable, necessary or permanent.[42] His belief that the sin, degradation and sorrow of the world were all doomed and that the Kingdom was steadily coming among men inspired him with optimism to plan, with patience to wait, and with strength to work. He wrote in The Times and Young Men in 1901, "If I had to believe that the sin and misery in the world were hopeless, it would take the heart out of me. I could work, but I should work like a galley-slave."[43] The basic cure for social problems, Strong declared, was the acceptance and practice by all men of the law of service, which was the law of Jesus as well as the fundamental law of the social organism. The practice of the law of service would mean that a new social spirit of brotherhood and love, based on the Fatherhood of God and not merely on common interests, had replaced that of selfishness. The practice of the law of service would readjust politics, commerce, industry, journalism to the new social conditions of the twentieth century.[44]

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[41] World-Life, 107, 91, 92, 95; Times and Men, 102, 103, 110-13, 182-3; Challenge of City, xiii; My Religion, 7; Religious Movements, preface; World-Religion, 189; 20C City, 127-8, 140.

[42] Next Great Awakening, 115; New Era, 241-2; World-Religion, 80-1; Religious Movements, 31; Times and Men, 16; Challenge of City, 125; also S.S., 2:7 (June'00).

[43] Times and Men, 16.

Strong was aware that the growing interdependence of the industrial civilization of 1900 was creating a consciousness on the part of society that its interests and life were one. In his opinion this social consciousness was being expressed in terms of duties (a social conscience), of cooperation (a new social spirit) and of general comfort and wealth (a new social ideal). Since these new needs were being felt, he deemed it important that the uninstructed social conscience and new social spirit be properly enlightened by the social teachings of Jesus which alone could root out selfishness.[45] The new social ideal must also be raised from the materialistic social ideal of creature comfort to the social ideal of Jesus, the full coming of the Kingdom of God.[46] Strong was

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44. S.S., 2:7 (July'00); World-Religion, 90, 180; Times and Men, 113; Next Great Awakening, 88, 102.

45. New Era, 39; 20C City, 117; Times and Men, 50; Next Great Awakening, 49, 196, 200; Religious Movements, 40-1; Challenge of City, 170-4; World-Life, 93.

46. Challenge of City, 173; Times and Men, 114, 219-20, 231.

certain that all attempts to regenerate society--through legislation, a different system of taxation, the reorganization of society, new political parties or the reformation of old ones--would fail as long as society remained selfish. Strong declared these attempts to be:

> only palliative, not remedial . . . the only radical remedy for our social ills is a new social spirit, the spirit of brotherhood, the spirit of love, vital enough to enter into, and to control, all relationships. This is Christ's remedy, embodied in the second fundamental law.[47]

Strong considered the great social questions of his day to be moral questions that could be settled only by an enlightened social conscience. In 1900 he wrote in terms of the need of the development and enlightenment of a world-conscience which would recognize the world-duties of nations rather than national rights, which would sacrifice local interests to the world good because of the existence of a new world-life.[48] To save the twentieth century from becoming "a menace to itself," the people must be reached with influences that would "inform the mind and enlighten the conscience." Strong assured all that the teachings of Jesus and the teachings of science when applied to the great world problems would solve them. He warned that whether or not they were applied would determine whether the new civilization was to be a heaven or a hell on earth.[49]

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[47] 20C City, 140-1, 130; New Era, 39, 81-2, 320; Challenge of City, 173; World-Life, 198-9.

[48] Expansion, 272, 245-6; see Gertrude Samuels, "On the World's Conscience," New York Times, Jan. 16, 1955, Sec. 6, 13.

Pushing to its ultimate end his quest for a harmonious social order, Strong told the readers of Social Service that the success of the law of service depended finally on the character of the individual man in society. He cautioned:

> things will never be right until men are right. The evils of which we complain and for the extirpation of which we see such a crusade of reforms, may all be traced to one or both of two causes, viz. sin and ignorance, which is another way of saying that these evils are of human origin. This is really a wonderfully perfect world in which we live.[50]

Science provided man with the means of eliminating his ignorance and the Gospel gave man the remedy for sin. The problems of society were concerned primarily with men's relations with each other, he wrote; and before members of society could sustain right relations with each other, men, themselves, must be right. Strong emphasized that for social soundness society must have individual soundness, for, he said, "an organic whole cannot be better than its constituent parts."[51] Strong criticized as a common fault of reformers the almost total disregard of man and his personality in seeking to solve the social problem.

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[49] World-Life, ix; 20C City, 80, 159.

[50] S.S., 2:7 (June'00).

[51] World-Religion, 143; Times and Men, 101; Challenge of City, 185, 173; 20C City, 121.

Strong was willing to admit that environment was a basic factor in the social problem. Moral progress did depend in large measure on physical conditions, and, therefore, people could not be saved without at the same time changing the environment. Nevertheless, the nature of the individual was more fundamental than relations between individuals, for "man's relations cannot be right while man himself is wrong." The world had to be saved from sin before it could be saved from misery. Strong wrote, "All quick and easy processes for regenerating society without regenerating the individuals who compose it are delusions."[52] In Strong's opinion, both the individual and society had to be transformed at the same time. Thus while moral and spiritual forces were changing the individual, the physical causes of their degradation must also be removed. Both factors of the problem had to be reckoned with, and, Strong concluded, "it will be found that man needs a new heart quite as much as he needs a new environment."[53] Strong offered as the all-inclusive panacea of the world's ills the Gospel of Christ with its message of Christian service expressed through self-sacrifice and motivated by disinterested love. Twentieth-century Christianity must

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52. New Era, 117-8. Strong included socialism. See also Challenge of City, 96; 20C City, 121; on Strong's recognition of the importance of environment see New Era, 193, Next Great Awakening, 95, Religious Movements, 16-17, Challenge of City, 4, 95, 160, World-Religion, 29.

53. New Era, 119.

teach and men must believe that Christ is the only saviour of society as well as the only saviour of the individual in order to achieve the perfect solution of the social problem.

When discussing social problems, Strong wrote in terms of crisis. He believed that social problems must be faced realistically and solved immediately by practical measures if a catastrophe were to be avoided within the next twenty or thirty years. He warned against a foolish American optimism that overlooked social ills because it assumed that the immunity of the United States from grave disorders in the past was a sufficient guarantee of its safety in the future, because it imagined America was the especial favorite of divine Providence or because it placed confidence in America as the richest country in the world. Strong cautioned that man could not thwart nature's law of cause and effect. If readjustment to a new civilization was too long delayed, the only alternative was social revolution by violent revolution. If the pressing social problems were not properly solved, socialism or anarchy would result. If the then existing social and economic conditions and tendencies continued, the American "perpendicular political cleavage of society" would give place to "a horizontal cleavage between different social strata" which would be "as dangerous" as it would be "un-American." Whether or not American society would soon be dominated solely by class antagonism, Strong believed, depended on the nature and speed of reforms. There were many wrongs to be righted, he agreed. But, he commented:

> The question is whether the work of reform shall be committed to leaders who can recognize the rights of all classes, and who love justice for all, or shall be turned over to selfish charlatans, to whom the politic is ever just, and the profitable is always right.[54]

Strong warned that reformers must not lose a sense of proportion in their efforts, becoming increasingly narrow as they become more intense, seeing only a single evil, and, likewise, only a single remedy for that evil. Reformers had to recognize an interdependence of all social ills, and, thus, recognize the need to study and solve all social problems together. Asserting that the unbalanced emphasis on man or environment led reformers to espouse half-truths, he wrote:

> Almost every form of human progress is hindered by half truths, by a partial recognition of facts. Some [reformers] refer all evils in the world to heredity (only they use a theological rather than the scientific term and call it "original sin"). Others, like Bellamy with parable of the rose-tree in the bog, attribute all evils to environment. One addresses all his efforts to saving the soul while he ignores the body. Another bends all his energies to saving the body and ignores the soul. Each wins a partial success because he recognizes a part of the truth, and each gains *only* a partial success because he fails to recognize the whole truth.[55]

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[54] *Challenge of City*, 158-9,163; *20C City*, 158; *Our Country*, 143-4, 195; *World-Life*, vii, 157, 213, 222-7, 214. In *World-Life*, Strong discussed the world crisis and various world problems which would become world perils unless soon dealt with.

[55] Strong, "American Institute," *S.S.*, 6:71 (Oct.'02). In this article, Strong cited Professor Peabody's *Jesus and the Social Question* as stressing the same idea.

Strong urged reformers to consider the whole life of man as well as the whole life of society. The error of many reformers, Strong charged, was that they sought to "work from the outside in," that they had tried to create life by organization, that they thought mere organization of society was remedial. He asserted that a change of form was not a change of essence, that newness of condition (education, suffrage, freedom of speech and press) could not be substituted for newness of life. Strong agreed that improved conditions were vital for a new life and spirit to grow and exist. What he so emphatically cautioned against, however, was the tendency of reformers to believe that conditions could create the new spirit that was needed. "To neglect either," Strong wrote, "is fatal folly." A social catastrophe could be avoided and the coming of the Kingdom hastened instead, if all were to realize that "Jesus . . . aimed at a new social order, but it was to come from a new social life, emanating from himself."[56] Thus, although the League for Social Service was to reinforce the work of many remedial and reformatory agencies, its most important work was to be preventative by preaching the perfect solution of all problems, individual and social, the social gospel.

The spiritual awakening needed in the twentieth century to bring a unity of religion and reform was dependent upon making God and the great spiritual verities real to men of the twentieth century.[57] The great spiritual awakenings of previous centuries had not come "uncaused or at haphazard" but directly in connection with the preaching of a previously neglected spiritual truth which was precisely adapted to the peculiar needs of the times. The Reformation stressed the importance of the individual; the Puritans proclaimed the idea of divine sovereignty rather than royal; the Wesleys extolled spiritual experience; Finney told the truth of man's free agency and guilt; and Moody revealed God's love for sinners.[58] The great need of the twentieth century, Strong believed, was an answer to social problems, to questions of rights and duties arising out of the industrial revolution. Strong was convinced that the social teachings of Jesus--the Kingdom and its laws of love, service and sacrifice--in their adaptation to the peculiar needs of the time were "as close-fitting as a glove."[59]

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[56] Next Great Awakening, 188, 190-1; Our Country, 180; New Era, 130.

Strong addressed this same plea for the teaching of a "real God," a God seen in relation to current times, especially to the clergy in his volume, The Next Great Awakening, written in 1902. Here for the first time in any of his books, Strong used the phrase "need of a real God." This phrase meant a vital, living God seen in relation to events of the day. He believed "a real God" was the supreme need of the times sufficient

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57. S.S., 3:89 (April'01).

58. Ibid.

59. Ibid.

to the solution of all personal and social problems.[60] The discovery and acceptance of the Kingdom on earth, the hitherto neglected spiritual truth, would make God real to twentieth century man, Strong was confident, by presenting God as immanent in the daily affairs of man ever working through nature and man toward the realization of the Kingdom. Strong now felt that the clergy of the orthodox evangelical churches had to accept the social gospel before they could transfer its meaning and zeal to the masses. Not since The New Era in 1893 had Strong sought so directly to instruct the clergy in the full and detailed meaning of the Kingdom philosophy as a social ideal with its specific social laws as taught by Jesus. The Kingdom as a social ideal would make God real to man, for man could be a co-laborer with God unto the Kingdom by fully surrendering his will to that of God, that is, by accepting God's love in the place of selfishness. Strong once again described the method of possessing "disinterested love." Stimulated or motivated by this "divine" love, man would act in terms of service and sacrifice toward man for the love of God. The result would be the solution of all personal and social problems.[61] Strong declared that a new social consciousness of "duties" and of Christian service would reform the business world, labor and management relations, and the

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[60] Next Great Awakening, 18; reference to earlier spiritual awakenings, 36-48.

[61] Ibid., 140-4, 47-8, 226, 195-6, 200-2.

Gospel of Wealth idea of stewardship.[62] Every phase of life would then be seen in relation to the laws of God. The spirit of service would bring all life into focus. Strong said:

> The spirit of service recognizes every good gift that is bestowed on us by God's manifold grace, as coming under the law of stewardship. Our substance, our time, our powers, our opportunities are all entrusted to us for service. Life itself is a sacred trust.[63]

He believed that the spiritual awakening of the twentieth century awaited but the acceptance by both the clergy and the masses of the neglected spiritual truth of the Kingdom and its social laws.

In his criticisms of the church, Strong maintained that the church was powerless precisely because in its life it ignored the law of service. He declared it was a common mistake of the churches to aim to make the community build the churches rather than for the churches "to build up the community." He asserted that they had lost their hold on the multitude because they had forgotten that "their mission, like that of their Master" was "not to be ministered unto, but to minister." And, Strong continued, "in seeking to save their life, they lose it."[64] Strong contended that those churches which rendered the largest service, that is, did most for social betterment, were growing fastest. The church to be an effective co-laborer with God had to make its methods scientific because God's methods were scientific, and, therefore, it had to recognize the relationship between the spiritual and the physical world.[65]

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[62] For a discussion of the business world see Next Great Awakening, 122-7, 160-74, of labor, 202-11, of stewardship, 132, 177, 173-5, 202, 126.

[63] Next Great Awakening, 126.

[64] S.S., 2:3 (July'00).

In the pages of Social Service, Strong praised the pastors and churches whose activities indicated a larger and truer conception of their mission. He cited the success of a minister in Joplin, Missouri, who had driven gambling from the town by writing a paper on the evil and placing the sermon in every house in this city of 30,000 people. The initiative taken by the pastors and churches of Pittsburgh and Alleghany in behalf of improved housing, the acceptance by Toledo pastors of responsibility for the political and commercial morality of the city, the successful efforts of a pastor in Cincinnati to establish friendly relations between his church and employers of the street car lines of the city--all were given as examples of the law of service.[66]

As fervently as Strong urged churches to accept the spirit of service, he urged social settlements, eminently Christian in spirit, to assert the religious as well as the social side of

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65. Our Country, 107; Religious Movements, 17; My Religion, 56, 38, 33; World-Religion, 8-17; World-Life, 3-4.

66. S.S., 2:4, 10-13 (June'00).

their activity. More could be done for the physical wants of the poor when their spiritual needs were recognized, for, he declared, body, soul and spirit were "intimately and intricately related" and influenced by each other. The Christian social settlement was scientific because it recognized all the elements in the human problem. Christadora House in New York City's lower East Side was to Strong a working model of a Christian social settlement. It did not proselytize for the benefit of any denomination but did faithfully teach Christian truth. Strong stressed that "When efforts for human betterment become really intelligent, they will deal with the whole man." Social settlements had to realize that

> as the institutional Church (sic) accomplishes results impossible to the old-time Churches which disregard physical and social needs, so the Christian social settlement does a work impossible to the settlement which ignores spiritual needs.[67]

Strong declared that settlement workers who made no use of religion neglected "the largest lever for the uplifting of the people."[68]

Fully aware of criticisms of the social gospel which he was making and prophetically conscious of the dangers to which later social gospel leaders were prone, Strong hastened to assure those who read his call for acceptance of the law of service that God was still the center of the applied Christianity advocated by the League for Social Service. He reaffirmed that

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[67] Josiah Strong, "The Christian Social Settlement," S.S., 3:154 (May '01).

[68] Challenge of City, 155, 228-30, 253-5.

> God is the greatest fact, the greatest reality in the universe. And for a life to take no account of this greatest of all facts is the greatest of all possible blunders.[69]

Yet, Strong asked, how could man be made to see the folly of refusing to acknowledge the place of God in everyday life, if not by showing him that evils exist precisely because of the rejection of the social teachings of the New Testament? Full glory was to be given to God by carrying out the Second Commandment of love. Strong firmly declared:

> It is not proposed to make a religion out of man's obligations to his fellows, to put love for man in the place of love to God. It is, however, both reasonable and Scriptural to test the one by the other. . . .
>
> If there are men whose lives are a lie because they profess love to God and show none to their fellow men, how can such men be more easily convicted at the bar of their own conscience than by testing their relations to God, not by their professions, but by their known relations to their fellow men.[70]

Strong concluded that man's relations to his fellows should be judged not by popular standards but by the social teachings of Jesus.

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69. S.S., 3:90 (April '01).

70. Ibid.; see also New Era, 121, and World-Religion, 184, Strong stated,"Christian love is nothing less than the offering of self--the whole of self--for the service of God in the service of man."

Strong viewed the social problems of the twentieth century as disorders caused by man's selfish spirit in his relations with his fellows. As the relationships of man grew more complex with the development of an industrial era and so long as his selfish individualistic spirit still dominated the new collective society, Strong warned that social disorders would multiply and become more acute. The new civilization created the basic problem of collective living and no where was that problem more pronounced than in the modern city, "the microcosm of the new civilization."[71] No where were man's relations to each other as numerous and as complex as in the city, Strong declared, and, therefore, all of the problems of the new civilization were to be found in the city in their worst form. He wrote that "The city is superlative. In it the new civilization is at its best, and at its worst. . . . The city is the source of the influences, best and worst, which permeate the land."[72] The problem of the city was in effect the entire social problem. Strong believed that "The solution of the city problem is really the solution of the social problem."[73] Although Strong's interests were centered in the city problem, he did not fail to point out that rural areas could not be neglected, especially in church work, for the country population would determine that of the future city.[74]

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[71] Josiah Strong, "The Disproportionate Growth of the City," S.S., 13:2 (Sept.'06)

[72] World-Life, 228, 282; Our Country, 128-9; New Era, 185.

[73] Next Great Awakening, xiv; Challenge of City, preface.

To Strong the problem of the city was not only the major problem of the future of the United States but of the world as well. He believed that urbanism was destined to invade all countries with the industrial revolution, the very circumstance which gave the city its new significance. Strong expressed concern over the potential development of this problem in Asia where the introduction and effects of the industrial revolution and of the sudden growth of cities would necessitate a rapid adjustment to new and radically different conceptions and conditions of life. As early as 1900, Strong urged the countries which were more advanced industrially to consider the social and economic conditions in the Far East in order that Asia might learn from their experience, thus forestalling many problems of an industrial society which were unnecessary. The international interest of the League for Social Service was primarily to assist in the exchange of solutions of social and industrial problems and in so doing ease the hardships of progress. One of the reasons why Strong was so eager for the United States to solve the problem of the city sprang from the belief that "To solve its problems for

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[74] New Era, 177; Challenge of City, 259, 261; see also Strong's introduction in Wilbert L. Anderson, The Country Town (New York, 1914), i-iii.

America is to solve them for mankind."[75] Strong saw in the future of the city "the greatest possibilities of blessing and of cursing to mankind." He declared that the city, itself, during the next two or three generations, would "fashion the mould into which the new and plastic civilization would run," thus influencing the future, "world without end." Civilizations of the past had been rural; the civilization of the future would be urban. The vast importance of the rise of the modern city caused Strong to write:

> When the tremendous significance of the coming city flashed upon my mind, it shook me, body and soul, like an ague. I wish it might shake millions of men out of their lethargy, and millions of money out of their pockets to meet the mighty emergency involved in this vast cosmic transformation.[76]

Moreover, the modern city represented to Strong more than a phenomenon of the twentieth-century industrial revolution. The modern city, bringing both problems and their solution, was a necessary and inevitable step in the gradual evolution of

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75. Challenge of City, 84-5; World-Life, 271; Expansion, 124, Strong wrote of his intention to write a book discussing the effects of western civilization on the social, intellectual and spiritual life of China and its disturbance of the political balance; Strong, Our Opportunity in the City, 23, in E. Strong Collection.

76. World-Life, 274-5; Strong, "Disproportionate Growth of City," S.S., 13:2 (Sept.'06).

the race toward the realization of the Kingdom on earth. Strong wrote that man's history had begun in a garden of paradise with man individualistic and unfallen, unfallen because of untried virtue. The consummation of man's story would be man in a perfect state of holiness, of virtue victorious, of socialized man redeemed and of the social ideal realized. Thus the consummation of man's story would be the full coming of the Kingdom of God on earth which was typified in Biblical writings by a city, a Holy City.[77] The city presented the supreme difficulty to be overcome, the supreme challenge to be met in the conquest of civilization for Christ. The city was "the problem of society's actualizing its highest possibilities by living in harmony with the laws of its own being, thus realizing the new social ideal." Strong asked his readers, "Does such a problem seem beyond all human power and possibility of solution?" He answered with certainty, "Not to those who believe in God and in the coming of his kingdom."[78]

In Strong's discussions of the problem of the modern city, he pointed out that the movement of population to cities was not a movement peculiar to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The city movement had always existed, he explained, because of man's social nature. What made this movement of population exceptionally operative since 1870 was the revolutionary use of machine power in agriculture, industry, transportation and communication. Such changes had removed what previously had been natural restrictions to the growth of cities. To strengthen his explanation, Strong quoted as a law of the growth of cities a statement by Professor John M. Gillette that "the increase of rural population is in inverse, and that of urban population is in direct proportion to the degree of industrialization."[79] The industrial revolution, wherever it had gone throughout the world, had brought about a redistribution of population in response to industrial needs and thus created "the new problem of the city."[80]

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[77] World-Life, 283.

[78] Ibid.; Challenge of City, 276, 85-6.

Precisely because the causes of the city movement were permanent and in accordance with social and economic laws, the city movement, itself, was permanent, inevitable and unlimited. In 1885 in Our Country, Strong wrote that the disproportionate growth of the city would "undoubtedly . . . continue"; by 1898 in The Twentieth Century City and thereafter, he declared that such growth was "inevitable".[81] Concerning the modern city, he told his readers:

> We must face the inevitable. The new
> civilization is certain to be urban;
> and the problem of the twentieth
> century will be the city . . . idle

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[79] World-Life, 238.

[80] New Era, 174,176; 20C City,33-42; Expansion, 92-6; World-Life, 92, 29, 237-8; Strong, "Disproportionate Growth of City," S.S., 13:1-4 (Sept.'06).

[81] Our Country, 137; 20C City, 53-4.

> will be all attempts to turn back from the modern city the tide of population flowing up to it. One who thinks to circumvent or to successfully resist economic and social laws is fighting against the stars in their courses.[82]

The movement to the city could not be stopped. The "Back to the Land" crusade made in an attempt to prevent city growth and problems was "foolish." Strong declared as an absolute economic law affecting city growth the fact that there was a limit to the world's capacity to consume food, although there was no limit to the world's desire and want for material goods. He concluded, therefore, that as agriculture grew either absolutely or relatively less important, as the limit of the world's consumption was reached and as fewer men were required to raise a given quantity of farm products, the cities would necessarily become larger and exert a more dominant influence. Strong concluded also that this tendency would be especially increased when scientific knowledge and machinery were applied to agriculture and if food as well as wool and cotton were produced from chemicals.[83] Strong also believed that there was no limit to the size of cities. It was possible with the industrial revolution to feed a city of any size, and, thus, a city might grow indefinitely.[84] Writing in 1913 of the cities of the future,

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[82] 20C City, 53-4; New Era, 187,188.

[83] New Era, 188; 20C City, 48; Challenge of City, 21,24, 26, 29, 18; World Life, 29, 240-2, 244, 259, 263-4; Strong "Disproportionate Growth of City," S.S., 13:1 (Sept. '06).

[84] New Era, 176-7. Strong quoted the Reverend Samuel Lane Loomis, Modern Cities, on the law of the growth of cities," the urban population in every country is always as large as its circumstances allow." See also Our Country, 137-8; Challenge of City, 28-9.

Strong commented that the vast size and heterogeneous character of New York City were prophetic. He wrote:

> The chief significance of this strange and mighty city is that it is prophetic. To-day there is but one New York; to-morrow there will be several; the day after there will be many.[85]

The inevitable rise and growth of the city were of special significance to the future of the United States, for, as Strong wrote, "the twentieth century city will be decisive of national destiny."[86] Strong believed that in the future the Mississippi Valley and the section west of the Mississippi were to be the area in which the majority of the cities in the United States would be found. This would be true because of the extensive mineral deposits of the West and because of the commercial and political importance its cities would assume as new ports of shipment to the Pacific lands followed the building of the Panama Canal.[87] Although the rate of growth and movement of population to the city from 1880 to 1890 might not be steadily maintained, Strong was certain, nevertheless, that the United States was to be a nation of cities in the near future.[88]

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[85] World-Life, 281.

[86] 20C City, 32; Challenge of City, 36; Strong, "Disproportionate Growth of City," S.S., 13:4 (Sept.'06).

[87] Our Country, 138, 142; Expansion, 140; World-Life, 235.

[88] Challenge of City, 61, 29, 35; New Era, 188; 20C City, 42; for use of statistics on city growth see New Era, 197, 164, 188, Challenge of City, 16-18, 19, World-Life, 237-276. Strong stated that urban population had increased 34.9% between 1900 and 1910 and that urban population had been increasing faster than rural population in the United States since 1793. Strong used the census reference to a city as one of 8,000 people or more.

Since the city was the center of civilization and the source of its moulding influences, and since the city was "without doubt" to control the nation by the dominance of numbers, wealth, and press, Strong cautioned, "we must save the city in order to save the nation. We must Christianize the city or see our civilization paganized."[89]

The dominance of the city would mean more than the mere redistribution of population. It would mean that the intelligence and moral standards of the nation would be measured and determined by the city, Strong declared. It would also mean that the politics of the nation, determined by numerical majorities, would be controlled by the city, that the influence and power of the press and the center of wealth would be found in the city. The dominance of the city would mean also a changed environment once its influence extended over an increasing number of the nation's people. This would result in more complex relations between men, in more intense competition, in bringing children under more influences than that of their parents, in a change of occupation for most of the nation and in the predominance of the broad-minded spirit of the city.[90] The dominance of the city would mean also a change in the spirit and temper of the people living in cities, a new social spirit, which, Strong wrote, "may be seen some day to be the providential preparation for the solution of the social problems which at present it [the city] undoubtedly complicates."[91]

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[89] Challenge of City, 259, 35; New Era, 198.

[90] World-Life, 265-280.

The city as it existed in 1900 was, in Strong's view, a menace to itself, to the state and to the nation which it was soon to control. Nevertheless, the many evils of the city were not necessary evils. It was certain, Strong maintained, that they could be mitigated and "it is probable that they can be eradicated."[92] The amount of time that remained to solve the problems of the city, however, was not unlimited. Strong wrote:

> The average man, who is intellectually near-sighted, smiles at the idea of a social or political crisis twenty or thirty years hence. But if action is postponed until the average man can see the crisis at hand, then sudden destruction will be upon us, because there will be no time to transform and uplift a generation; and the nation's day of grace will have passed.[93]

The generation to whom Strong addressed his message had the opportunity as well as the duty, he thought, to balance the great material progress of the city by an even greater intellectual and moral progress.[94] In 1901 Strong warned, "I solemnly believe that Providence has given us twenty years in which to perfect the government of our cities or else go to perdition."[95]

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[91] World-Life, 270.

[92] Strong, "Disproportionate Growth of City," S.S., 13:3 (Sept.'06).

[93] Challenge of City, 270.

[94] New Era, 188, 157-8; 20C City, 29, 55-6, 76; Challenge of City, 84-5, 264-5, 4, 6, 41, 51.

In analyzing the problem of the city, Strong believed that basically two factors were involved, that of the environment and of the people. So far as the environment was concerned, the problem of the city was centered in making "the city serve in the highest possible degree the physical, intellectual and moral health of the people." So far as the population was concerned, the problem of the city was centered in securing "the noblest possible manhood and womanhood."[96] Strong insisted that both factors had to be changed in the next few years to solve the problems of the city. In his discussions, Strong alluded to many subordinate problems which were involved in the basic factors of environment and people--the crowded and unsanitary tenements, the use of streets as playgrounds, the hostility of children to police authority caused by restricted use of streets, the display of obscene posters and pictures, the lack of moral and religious training, as well as physical training, in the public schools, the unsanitary and unsafe factory conditions, the use of saloons as recreation and social centers, the massing of wealth and power in the city, the unassimilated foreign population--an easy mark for socialism and city bosses, the corrupt "boss rule" in municipal government and the failure of the churches in down-town areas of the city.[97]

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[95] Strong's address before the Packard Institute in New York City in Jan.1901 in New York Tribune, Jan.26, 1901, 16/2; New Era, 174, 176; 20C City, 102, 42, 90, 158, 180; Challenge of City, 16, 36, 35, 241, 269, 84-5, xiv; World-Life, 264; Our Country, 142.

[96] New Era, 178; Challenge of City, 200-02.

Strong was particularly troubled by the popular discontent, "most intense in the city," resulting from the difficulty of reconciling the unequal distribution of wealth and the aristocratic industrial organization with the spirit of democracy. The problem of the distribution of wealth Strong described in 1906 as

> preeminently a problem of the city because . . . the city possesses more than three-quarters of all our wealth, though it contains only one-third of our population; and, moreover, the city's disproportionate growth in the former is much greater than its disproportionate growth in the latter.[98]

A condition of "unstable equilibrium" had been created as a result of the fact that the power of wealth was in the hands of the few while the power which comes from education and political power was popularized.[99]

The foreign element in cities was another problem of city life which deeply concerned Strong. He believed immigration was intimately related to the city problems of tenements, sanitation, crime, pauperism, intemperance, labor and government. Strong insisted that he intended "no sweeping accusations against foreigners," for many had rendered "eminent service to religions, morals, literature, and political reform."[100] Nevertheless, Strong emphasized, foreigners created difficulties in American cities by isolating themselves as nationality groups and by causing the intensification of race prejudice and religious antipathy. Any attempts to stop immigration by legislation would probably be useless, Strong wrote, since "the flow of European immigration will continue until there is a practical equalization of economic opportunity between Europe and America, and that will be a long time hence."[101] The ultimate solution,he believed, depended very largely upon the assimilation of the immigrant.[102]

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[97] Challenge of City, 99, 106, 136-8, 142, 109, 111, 112, 116-8, 123; 20C City, 93, 56, 81-8; Strong, "Disproportionate Growth of City," S.S., 13:2-3 (Sept.'06); see also Strong's introduction in Samuel Lane Loomis, Modern Cities and Their Religious Problems (New York, 1887), 5-10.

[98] Strong, "Disproportionate Growth of City," S.S., 13:3 (Sept.'06).

[99] Ibid.. The term "unstable equilibrium" was used by Strong for the first time in 1906; see also World-Life, 157.

The problems of municipal government and of city evangelization, Strong believed, were two problems which overshadowed all others in importance and together constituted the distinctive problem of the city "for this generation at least."[103] Writing in 1906, he stated that in the United States the supreme problems, political and religious, of the twentieth century were the government of the city and the evangelization of the city.[104] The two problems were intimately related. Good city government depended upon a new concept of citizenship, and successful city evangelization depended upon a new concept of religion. Here again, the solution was characteristic of Strong's thinking: the new spirit needed in both government and evangelization was the spirit of self-sacrificing service.

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[100] New Era, 190-1; Strong, Our Opportunity in the City, 14-16, in E. Strong collection.

[101] Challenge of City, 149; 20C City, 100.

[102] Our Country, chapter 4; New Era, 190-1; Challenge of City, 150, 152, 157, 155, 140. Strong warned that if the immigrant were not educated politically, he could easily be united against capitalism; not since Our Country had Strong discussed immigration in such detail as in Challenge of City in 1907, the years of the great increase in immigration; see also Strong's introduction in Howard B. Grose, Aliens or Americans? (New York, 1909), 14. Strong wrote: "Whether immigrants remain Aliens or become Americans depends less on them than on ourselves."

[103] New Era, 178, 329-31.

The problem of city government presented a critical challenge to twentieth century America, in Strong's opinion, because local self-government was one of the two fundamental principles on which the American democratic system rested. The principle of federation had been settled by the Civil War. It was the principle of local self-government which in 1900 was at stake; and "its subversion would involve national destruction as surely as the dismemberment of the Union."[105] The existing character of city government posed a threat to popular government itself. Since distribution of power was a basic feature of popular government, boss rule and the power of massed wealth involved in city politics represented a kind of centralized power that was absolute, irresponsible and dangerous. Strong stated that popular government in the large cities in 1898 had failed because it had degenerated into government "of the people by the boss and for the machine."[106] The urgency, the crisis of the city problem lay in the fact that soon the city was to dominate the state and the nation. Strong warned that "if our municipal government is a failure then, the governments of state and nation, controlled by the city, will also be failures, and our free institutions will fail."[107] The country vote would not save the state and the nation much longer from the consequences of the city vote.

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[104] S.S., 13:3 (Sept.'06).

[105] New Era, 186, on 76 Strong discussed federation and local self-government as illustrations of the principle of unity in diversity in government.

Strong charged that boss rule in city government resulted in wasteful spending of money, unlawful granting of franchises, cruel sacrificing of public health, political juggling with the public school board and callous indifference to all forms of vice.[108] Bossism, itself, existed because lazy voters absented themselves from the polls, because voters respected party lines in municipal elections and because foreigners blindly followed political leaders of their nationality. Strong deplored the fact that vicious political partisanship caused good citizens who wanted good government, a majority in every city, to divide on political questions which had "no more to do with municipal government than with the moon." Rigid party politics enabled unscrupulous demagogues "to hold the balance of power and dictate their terms."[109] The return of Tammany to control in New York City in 1898 had been possible, he asserted, because the best elements in the city simply had not had "sufficient civic conscience or intelligence to sink all minor considerations and unite to defeat an organization."[110]

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[106] Our Country, 141, 142; 20C City, 108, 86; World-Life, 139-40.

[107] New Era, 187, 189; 20C City, 82, 88, 91; Challenge of City, 56-61, 63; see also Strong's introduction in James H. Ross, A Martyr of To-Day. The Life of Robert Ross, Sacrificed To Municipal Misrule. A Story of Patriotism Calling For Municipal Reforms (Boston, 1894), 9, 10, 11.

[108] Our Country, 136; New Era, 181.

The large foreign population in the cities further aggravated the problem of municipal government. Strong believed that most foreigners had "little understanding of our political issues and less of our institutions " and, therefore, were led by whatever group promised the highest patronage.[111] In the final analysis, however, Strong believed that civic corruptness represented a moral failure on the part of all the citizens of a city. Any failure in individual character or in personal conduct in the complicated and multiplied relationships of city life had far reaching and perhaps disastrous results. He wrote that the problem of the city was "in its last analysis, the problem of the individual."[112] The city needed officials of an enlightened social conscience. If such officials were available and were not elected, it was precisely because the voters, themselves, lacked civic intelligence

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109. New Era,180, 181, 184; Challenge of City,189; 20C City,88.

110. 20 C City, 88, 112.

111. New Era, 180; 20C City, 79; Challenge of City, 154, 45, 63-8.

112. New Era, 260, 309-10.

and civic morality. As Strong wrote, "we have as good officials as we deserve."[113] The enlightened social conscience in municipal affairs which Strong demanded was the essence of what he called "the new patriotism."

Strong repeatedly asserted that America was afflicted with "the bad citizenship of good men." The indifference of the average citizen to daily municipal affairs accounted for much of the corruption that existed in city government. In 1898, Strong called for a "new patriotism" which would embody the social conscience in action, not a patriotism "which offers itself to die for the country, but one that is willing to live for it."[114] "The new patriotism" which he extolled, he explained, was one

> not new in spirit, but in manifestation; one which is civil rather than military . . . not a patriotism which constructs fortifications and builds navies, but one which purifies politics and substitutes statesmen for demagogues . . . one which rallies round the ballot-box . . . one which smashes 'the machine'.[115]

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113. Times and Men, 111; Challenge of City, 50, 45; 20C City, 61, 66, 67, 80; Our Country, 139-40; World-Life, 196. Strong said that evils in the city were due to a lack of social spirit, to the laissez-faire attitude.

114. 20C City, 104, 109, chapter 5 on "New Patriotism"; Challenge of City, chapter 3.

115. 20C City, 109, 112.

"The new patriotism" was above partisanship, was concerned above all for principle and, if necessary, sacrificed party to it. Strong had no doubt that there were enough good men in every community to save it, if only they would act together. Men had to be taught that "when good men become good citizens, they become better Christians."[116]

By 1907, Strong found it necessary to clarify his meaning of this proposed new civic patriotism. He wrote, in The Challenge of the City, that an interest in public affairs on the part of the citizens of a city was not enough to save the city. He stated:

> A man may closely watch the administration of public funds chiefly because he is a taxpayer. . . . He may desire good schools, chiefly because he has children to educate. . . . So-called patriotism is sometimes only a euphemism for some form of selfishness, for narrowness and bigotry as applied to one's own city or country.[117]

The interest of the citizens of a community in public affairs must be the result of a new social, altruistic spirit. Strong now stated that the civic spirit needed was Christian patriotism. He defined Christian patriotism as "disinterested devotion to the general welfare--a patriotism which knows no limits of geography, nor yet of race, nor even of time, but which is as wide and as on-ward reaching as the kingdom of God."[118] Such was the "new patriotism" which Strong believed was needed to

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116. World-Religion, 411; New Era, 315, 330; 20C City, 104-5.

117. Challenge of City, 83-4.

118. Ibid.

save the city and the nation.

How was such Christian patriotism to be instilled in the minds of the city's citizens? In Strong's opinion, the new social spirit could be achieved only by enlightening public opinion and quickening the popular conscience. Strong wrote that popular government was secure "only when it rests on the two foundation stones of virtue and intelligence. Neither blundering goodness nor unscrupulous knowledge can sustain the fabric of our free institutions."[119] The enlightened social conscience which Strong demanded, he cautioned, however, was not a sudden enthusiasm that would quickly disappear after an election. It was to be a patriotism rooted firmly in the heart by patient education.[120] Strong repeatedly charged the church with the task of arousing in all men a social conscience and of infusing this new spirit with the principles of love, service and sacrifice. In his volume, The Twentieth Century City, in which, in 1898, he focused his attention on city government, Strong, for the first time, made it emphatically clear that the church had to assume responsibility for social reforms not only by preaching the duty of facing social obligations as a vital part of the gospel, but, by direct action seeking to enlighten and crystallize public opinion for social action.

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[119] Strong, The Civil Sabbath, 11, in Social Service. Series E. Sabbath Series (New York, no date).

[120] Challenge of City, 79, 80; 20C City, 158, 113.

Strong's concrete proposal in 1898 was that various church groups throughout a state act as an agency to carry the gospel to the indifferent in the home by the distribution of leaflets on all subjects. If the necessity arose, the various church groups were also to act as a medium of expressing the resulting enlightened and aroused public opinion and bringing it to bear on legislation.[121] Strong believed that it was necessary for an enlightened public opinion to exert its influence on the legislatures--local, state and national-- in order to combat the influence of special interests on legislation. He also saw in the plan he had outlined the means of a popular referendum. As General Secretary of the Evangelical Alliance, Strong undertook such a leaflet campaign; and later when he was president of the League for Social Service, the principle was demonstrated in the campaign of education that resulted in the unseating of the Mormon representative to Congress in 1899. Strong's concern was not only to enlighten the popular conscience but to make it effective. He wrote, "Only as far as the intelligence of the city is brought to bear upon public affairs, does it practically exist."[122] During the period of widespread interest in direct legislation, Strong was a vice-president of the New York State Group for the Adoption of the Initiative and Referendum.[123]

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121. 20C City, 136, 161-9, 173-8.

122. Challenge of City, 46.

123. B.O. Flower, "The Direct Legislation Campaign," Arena, 39:658 (June,1908); Gos. of K., 1:45-6(March'09).

By 1913 Strong, together with Rauschenbusch, Gladden, Bliss, Jane Addams and Bishop William F. McDowell, was convinced that the next step needed in the movement for social reform was direct action; and in that year Strong was active in organizing the Religious Citizenship League For Social Progress Through Political Action. The purpose of the group was to interest and unite especially members of churches, synagogues and other religious or ethical bodies to secure reform legislation. The group was to work for legislative measures embodying the principles taught by The Gospel of the Kingdom, which was published by Strong's American Institute of Social Service.[124]

Strong offered the social gospel, which taught a unity of all life and a law of self-sacrificing service, as the guide for that life, as the basic solution of the problem of the twentieth-century city. The practical question of how this saving message was to be carried to the people of the city, the problem of city evangelization, had been uppermost in Strong's thinking since the days of the Cincinnati conference on city evangelization which he had called in December, 1885. Strong emphasized the fact that more churches were needed in the city to keep pace with the increase in the city's population, especially in the tenement areas. The unequal distribution of

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124. Strong, "The Next Step," editorial in Gos.of K., 6:1-2 (Jan.'14); for constitution of Religious Citizenship League and its work see Gos.of K., 6:11-14 (Jan.'14), 43 (March'14), 61-4 (April'14), 78 (May'14), 90 (June'14), 124 (Aug.'14).

the city's churches caused by the so-called "up-town movement" of the churches, Strong explained, meant that in some cities the number of churches in the up-town area was five times as great as in the down-town densely populated area. He spoke candidly to the church when he declared that churches should be established where they would best serve the community and aid the Kingdom, not where they would soonest reach self-support or best represent a denomination.[125] In his consideration of city evangelization, Strong placed particular emphasis on the down-town city problem, although he was equally aware of a problem in the suburbs. In considering the problem of establishing churches to meet the outward growth of the city together with the movement toward the suburbs, Strong suggested that denominational church clubs buy land on the edge of the city when the land was cheap, and, then when population moved to that locality, the church would already own the land. When the cost of the land had been returned to the club by the new congregation, the money was to be reinvested further out. The process was to be repeated indefinitely.[126]

Although the number and distribution of churches was important in solving the problem of city evangelization, Strong emphasized new methods as the key to success. The problem of

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125. Our Country, 133-4; New Era, 213, 200-1,333-4; Challenge of City, 119, 54, 121-3.

126. Strong, Our Opportunity in the City, 9-10 ,in E. Strong Collection.

reaching the masses would be solved by the evangelical churches only by the use of new methods which encompassed the whole of man and were adapted to the city environment. He believed that the reason for the alienation of the masses from the church was the failure of the church both in doctrine and in method to teach as well as to exemplify the gospel of human brotherhood. Strong was convinced that the church appeared selfish to the masses because the church confined its activities to spiritual things and thus, to the working man, seemed to be dealing with unrealities and to be far removed from every-day life. Strong pointed out that there was a marked tendency for the extent of the industrial revolution in a country to measure the extent of alienation of the people from the church when the church preached an individualistic type of religion.[127]

Strong was firmly of the opinion that if the church were to solve the great problems of the times, if it were to mould the civilization of the future, if it were to accomplish its mission by ushering in the kingdom, "the great body of her work, yet to be done, is to be found in the non-church-going class," which in 1900 was beyond the influence and effort of the church.[128]

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127. New Era, 225, 228, 229, 125-6, 246, 250-1; Religious Movements 32-3, 35-6, 29-31; Next Great Awakening, 63-4, 97-8, 100; 20C City, 13, 126-7; Times and Men, 18, 144; Challenge of City, 7; World-Religion, 440-6.

128. New Era, 221, 214, 216, 219, 209-12.

The adoption of new methods, Strong wrote, would follow automatically once the church accepted the newly discovered social teachings of Jesus and realized that its mission was to work for God's Kingdom on earth. Strong believed that as soon as the church came to see "the sacredness of the secular, to understand that the sphere of religion is as broad as that of conscience, and that the sphere of conscience is as broad as that of life," it would realize that it must save the whole of man--body, soul, and spirit--and would find a change in methods imperative. Such changed methods were necessary not only if the church were to reach the masses with the message of Jesus, but also if the church were to survive in the new collective society. Such changed methods also would meet the pressing needs of the city. Strong stated that while it was a mistake in Christian work to expect results from mere methods, it must be realized that motives miscarried if methods were wrong.[129]

At the same time that Strong preached and prayed for an awakening to the social gospel in the church, he laid down principles which he believed had to be the basis of any new methods adopted. He also outlined in detail new methods and made practical efforts to have such methods put into practice. Two fundamental principles which had been inherent in Jesus' methods and now were to be applied in developing new methods adapted to the

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129. Next Great Awakening, 212, 213; World-Religion, 263, 474-7; Religious Movements, 33; Challenge of City, 241-3, 122; 20 C City, 152; New Era, 252.

twentieth century environment were the recognition and use of personality and of organization.[130] The personal, vital touch was the great power in all redemptive work; and systematic effort and cooperation were the multiplier of that power. The successful methods of the Salvation Army, Strong maintained, were the result of its recognition of these two principles.[131] To bring a man to Christ, the church had to speak to him individually, not en masse. It could speak more powerfully through a living example rather than through the printed word. Strong wrote:

> It is life that begets life, love that begets love, character that leavens character . . . we must enter into other lives, share their lives with them, give our lives to them, if we would bless.[132]

In doing this active work to save the individual, it was also essential for greater power, for economy of resources, for realization of her mission and for steps toward organic union that Christian churches cooperate regardless of differences in creed. Other cardinal principles of which the church had to be aware in shaping new methods were the inherent worth of all men regardless of position, the interdependence of the entire man--physical, intellectual and spiritual, the need of replacing an evil destroyed with a good thing and, the most fundamental of all, the expression of love in service and sacrifice.[133] These principles Strong believed were absolutely true to and harmonious with the laws of Christ and essential for the full coming of the Kingdom. But as to the specific methods of applying them, Strong wrote that they must be simple and flexible and that they must vary with the varying needs and conditions of different communities.[134]

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[130] New Era, 258-266, 267-9.

[131] Ibid., 277, 307, 269-70. Strong stated that a shortcoming of the Salvation Army is its failure to seek to change conditions of society.

[132] New Era, 276; Challenge of City, 203-4; New Era, 279, 285, 288.

Strong's efforts for the adoption of new church methods during his years as General Secretary of the Evangelical Alliance were part of his campaign of setting up local church alliances by local interdenominational cooperation. Local alliances composed of pastors and laymen of each cooperating church were to be units always conscious of the needs of the community and always ready to solve any problem without setting up an outside organization. The system of personal house-to-house visitation to establish direct contact with the people and needs of the community was the method which Strong suggested local alliances might use. Churches cooperating in this manner Strong called the "collective church" of the community. He believed such organization was applicable only in the residential and suburban areas where churches were numerous and strong. The outline of such a plan was described in detail in The New Era of 1893.[135] This plan adapted the basic principles of

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134. New Era, 318.

135, New Era, collective church, 319-323, 334, leaflets, 311-13; praise of Strong's plan as presented in New Era by George Whitefield Mead, Modern Methods in Churdh Work, 7, 17, 139, 144.

personal effort and contact and of cooperation to the condition of the indifference of the masses in the city by carrying the gospel to the home of the indifferent. Strong saw the possibilities of using the method of systematic house-to-house visitation by the collective church for distribution of information on pressing problems, religious, moral, social and political, to "inspire, guide, and consummate all of the reforms demanded by applied Christianity."[136] This possibility, seen in 1893, became the leaflet campaign Strong started as Secretary of the Alliance in 1898 and urged in The Twentieth Century City.[137]

Strong early came to view the problem of evangelization of the down-town city as one of a greater difficulty and a different nature than that of evangelization of the residential area and the suburbs.[138] Church methods, while still based on the fundamental Christian principles inherent in Jesus' methods, had to be especially adapted, therefore, to the business, tenement house and slum area. Here he advocated the methods and facilities of the institutional church and, its necessary supplement, the religious social settlement, in tenement areas, and the mission, in slum areas, as the best method of bringing the

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136. 20C City, 179.

137. New Ara, 311-13; 20C City, 160-1, 167, 179.

138. New Era, 200-1, 334; Challenge of City, 122-3, 231.

social gospel to the masses in the down-town city. Through its rescue work, as well as its club rooms, class rooms, shops, employment bureaus, clinics, loan associations and kindergartens, the institutional church would render services needed by the individual community. Through the elevation of the physical nature and environment of man, it would hasten man's spiritual goal and the coming of the Kingdom.[139] Strong cited the increase in the number of confessions of faith in the institutional church of any denomination in contrast to other churches of that denomination as evidence that the activities of the institutional church in behalf of physical, intellectual and social needs would not distract from spiritual results.[140] Strong called the term "institutional church", "a name which no one likes and every one uses." He preferred and used the term "socialized church."[141] In The New Era, in 1893, Strong suggested that the institutional church and its methods were the "natural outgrowth of a larger conception of the mission of the church" and represented an adaptation to the city essential to the survival of the church. In his Religious Movements for Social Betterment, in 1900, he prescribed it as the best means for the greatest possible moral and spiritual renovation of the masses because of its capacity to combine social work with its spiritual mission. In The Challenge of the City, written in 1907, he maintained with certainty that the institutional church, now that its methods had been tested for the previous twenty years, had proven itself as the one successful method of applying the social teachings of Jesus.[142]

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[139] Challenge of City, 25-6, 209, 211-15; Religious Movements, 25-6.

[140] New Era, 245; 20C City, 147; Challenge of City, 222-3, 218; World-Religion, 460-1.

[141] Religious Movements, 43; Challenge of City, 190, 209.

In his The New Era, written in 1893, Strong outlined a plan of interdenominational cooperation in setting up denominational institutional churches and missions in the down-town city; and in the spring of 1894 he was active in organizing, together with Elias Sanford, Charles Thompson, Leighton Williams and Frank Mason North, the Open and Institutional Church League in New York City.[143] Strong's continued interest in and advocacy of the institutional church culminated in a call in 1907 for an aggressive campaign to be undertaken by interdenominational cooperation in cities to establish institutional churches together with mission halls and settlement houses and in active steps to set the campaign in motion. The essential features of the plan of 1907 were outlined in a pamphlet, Our Opportunity in the City, written in 1906 for the Congregational Home

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[142] New Era, 244-7; Religious Movements, 33-4, 51, 85, 130; Challenge of City, 246-7.

[143] Sanford, Hist. of Evangelical Alliance, 193; Hopkins, Rise of Social Gospel, 154; Schlesinger, Rise of City, 340; Challenge of City, 209; pamphlet, The Open and Institutional Church League. Preliminary Conference Held in Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York City, March 27, 1894 (Boston, 1894), 11, reference to Strong; see also Elias B. Sanford, Origin and History of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America (Conn., 1916), 40. This work will be cited hereafter as Sanford, Origin of Federal Council.

Missionary Society. The plan, itself, was presented in greater detail in The Challenge of the City in 1907. This volume was written for and published by the Young People's Missionary Movement in full approval of Strong's plan. The book was to be used as a text in the Forward Mission Study Courses which were to be held in the various churches in 1907 and 1908.[144] Reviews praising the book appeared in newspapers such as the Louisville Journal, the Springfield Republican and The New York Times; in such denominational publications as The United Presbyterian, The Wesleyan Methodist, Epworth Herald, and The Canadian Baptist; in journals such as The Outlook, The North American, The Intercollegian and The Watchman. Praise of the book as well as the plan came from such church leaders as Henry C. Potter, George W. Wenner, Leighton Williams, S. Parkes Cadman, Frank M. North, Henry C. King, William P. Hall and Washington Choate.

Commenting on The Challenge of the City, J.M. Phillippi, professor at Union Biblical Seminary, Dayton, Ohio, wrote:

> So far as America is concerned, it is the greatest book of the century. This is due to three things: The ability of the author, the importance of the subject matter, and the provisions made for the circulation and study of the book. . . . no book has been written in fifty years that

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144. Challenge of City brochure in E. Strong Collection; letter by Strong, no date, no addressee in E. Strong Collection.

> is so important to the well-being of the United States.[145]

The Watchman commented that the book was "the work of the leading authority on the subject."[146] The volume was widely circulated, the title page of a 1907 printing indicating the "Forty-sixth Thousand--Fifth Edition," and a reprint was made in 1911. Washington Gladden wrote Strong in April, 1908:

> Kindly send me . . . twenty copies of the paper edition and ten of the cloth edition. I am going to put the book into my midweek service, for the rest of the summer, and set my Brotherhood to working it up.[147]

Professor Graham Taylor in his Religion in Social Action in 1913 listed Strong's book in the suggested bibliography for his chapter on "City and Church Reapproaching Each Other." As late as November, 1913, an eighteen page pamphlet of questions based on the book was prepared by a member of the Census Bureau in Washington for use in studying the book by a class of young men in the First Congregational Church in Washington, D.C.[148]

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[145] Reviews in Challenge of City brochure in E. Strong Collection; comment by Dr. Phillippi in Missionary Advance, 3:409 (Dec.'07); see also Missionary Advance, 3:385-6 (Nov.'07); 4:28 (Jan.'08).

[146] Challenge of City brochure.

[147] Gladden to Strong, Columbus, April 30/08 in E. Strong Collection.

[148] Leon E. Truesdell to Strong, Nov.8/13 in E. Strong Collection. See also pamphlet, Leon E. Truesdell, Questions For Discussion Based Upon "The Challenge of the City" By Josiah Strong, Arranged by Leon E. Truesdell, A.M. For Use In DELTA CLASS First Congregational Church, Washington D.C. (Washington, 1913); see also statement that Challenge of City was studied by more than 2,000 classes, Gos. of K., 8:98 (July '16); Taylor, Religion in Social Action, 273.

Strong called his plan essentially one of a "new evangelism." It was "new" because it recognized the need in the city of persistent and long sustained personal endeavor in carrying the message to the masses and in addition the need of instruction in the truth of Christianity as well as "an experimental demonstration" of it.[149] The old methods of evangelism of simply persuading men "to make the great decision" had won great victories in the past, but for at least forty years they had failed in the down-town city, and churches which clung to those methods had died. Strong queried, "Why waste time by giving old methods a longer test?"[150] The plan of 1907 advocated that the various Christian denominations in a city cooperate in assigning districts in the neglected areas of the city to denominations "according to their respective strength and willingness to undertake the work." In its assigned district each denomination was to establish at least one institutional church, the expense of which was to be met by the several churches of that denomination in the residential area until the institutional church became self-supporting. Two or more denominations, individually not strong enough to set up an institutional church, might cooperate in establishing a single church.

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149. Challenge of City, 243-4, 122; Our Opportunity in the City, 18-19, E. Strong Collection.

150. Challenge of City, 241-2.

Strong emphasized that the "socialized" church had to be equipped with an adequate corps of workers--several ministers, assistants, instructors, trained nurses, and deaconesses--all of whom must live in the neighborhood and "all of whom must have the spirit of the slum lassies of the Salvation Army."[151] In addition to the institutional church, each denomination was to set up several social settlements in its area for workingmen and their families, and, if necessary, several small mission halls, especially in slum areas, to recruit those who had fallen from the church.[152] Every church, country or up-town and in every denomination, was to be kept in vital touch with the work of an institutional church, settlement or mission in some city, near or far, by contributing gifts, clothing or money. Strong's plan was essentially the same as that which he had suggested in 1893 with the addition now of religious social settlements. Of the plan as presented in The Challenge of the City, Dr. Washington Choate, of the Congregational Home Missionary Society in New York City, wrote:

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[151] Challenge of City, 252-3.

[152] For Strong's views on the institutional church see Challenge of City, 248-50, New Era, 337-9; for Strong's views on missions see Challenge of City, 255-7, 232-4, New Era, 334-8; for Strong's views on social settlements see Challenge of City, 253-5, 226-9. See questions 18, 19, 20, 22 on the importance of religious teaching in social settlement work, Challenge of City, 235.

> It is possible that some other method might be suggested, but none has been, and the solution presented . . . ought to arouse the churches of the land to a vigorous effort along the lines indicated.[153]

Dr. Frank Mason North, secretary of the Methodist City Missionary Society of New York, wrote that Strong's suggestions of method and principles seemed "entirely sound" and expressed the hope that the plan might actually become "a working plan."[154]

In Strong's opinion, three conditions were absolutely necessary for the successful accomplishment of his plan. These were 1) cooperation among denominations and of all churches in every denomination, 2) the contribution and spending of larger sums for church work on the part not only of each member of the evangelical church but also of business men and the wealthy, and 3) a thoroughly disinterested action and devotion to the general welfare, in other words, "Christian patriotism," on the part of the denominational churches in setting up institutional churches.[155] Although Strong believed that individual regeneration could be left to the individual church because of differences as to the meaning and method of salvation, he considered it imperative that the denominations cooperate through one comprehensive organization rather than through denominational boards and societies, to reach those who had been neglected by all church

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153. Challenge of City brochure.

154. Ibid.

155. Challenge of City, 257-9, 262-9, 269-73.

groups. Strong believed that it was absurd for each Protestant denomination to carry out programs which virtually ignored the existence of those of other denominations and thus seemed to assume that it alone was the Christian force of the community and that upon it alone rested the chief responsibility for the community's evangelization.[156] The differences between the various denominations did not necessarily imply discord, but rather, in Strong's view, could be seen as individual emphasis on a different truth or portion of a truth. Strong believed that it was "unnatural" for Christian sects to pray that "all may be one," for they were ignoring the fact that "God's method is not unity through identity but through variety, through differences which supplement and serve one another."[157] The emphases of the various denominations were all needed to round out truth's perfect circle. Good men had to see that their essential oneness was that of purpose and, therefore, of action.[158]

The federation of local churches on an interdenominational basis was Strong's answer to the problem of organization. He believed that such a local organization, the collective church, could take a more advanced position on local problems than an organization of denominations federated at the top, which could never go faster than the slowest denomination entering that

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156. Next Great Awakening,110; New Era, 301-2, 306.

157. World-Life, 38.

158. Challenge of City, 258; New Era, 315, 316, 319.

federation.[159] Strong believed that actual interdenominational cooperation in social betterment would bring denominations to see in members of other Protestant sects, or even in Catholics, the likeness of Christ and thus bring the church closer to organic union.[160] Strong actively supported the movement for federation of churches that took place in the first decade of the twentieth century and resulted in the establishment of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. He addressed the conference for the organization of the National Federation of Churches and Christian Workers held in Philadelphia, February, 1901, on "The Next Great Revival" and also the Inter-Church Conference on Federation held in New York City, December, 1905, on "The Essential Unity of the Churches."[161] From the establishment of the Federal Council in 1908 until his death in 1916, he was an active member of its policy making body.

Strong served on the Commission on the Church and Social Service of the Federal Council from 1908 to 1913 and was thereafter chairman of the Commission until his death. He was also one of the advisory members of the Administrative Committee of the Council and also served on special committees, namely,

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159. New Era, 313, 314, 317.

160. Next Great Awakening, 110; 20C City, 179, Religious Movements, 37-8; World-Religion, 505-6, 337.

161. Sanford, Origin of Federal Council, iv, 40, 147, 162; Edward Tallmadge Root, "Josiah Strong. A Modern Prophet of the Kingdom of God," New-Church Review, 29:49 (Jan.1922): see also Macfarland, Christian Unity, 16.

the Joint Commission on Theological Seminaries on the Study of Social and Industrial Questions and on the Committee of One Hundred For Religious Work at the Panama-Pacific Exposition.[162] In 1910 as chairman of the Committee on Propaganda of the Commission on the Church and Social Service Strong began an investigation of labor conditions in the various trades. In May of the same year, he was a member of a committee of three appointed by the Commission on the Church and Social Service to investigate the industrial situation involved in the Bethlehem steel strike.[163]

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162. Elias B. Sanford, ed., Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Report of the First Meeting of the Federal Council Philadelphia 1908 (New York, 1909), 529; see also Second Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America,1910, 66, 67; Third Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America,1911,55; Annual Reports of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America for the year 1913, 197, 202, 223, 225; Annual Reports of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America for the year 1915, 186,191, 216, 218; Report of the Proceedings of the Second Quadrennial Council of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, December 4-9, 1912, 131, 140.

163. Second Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America,1910,66; see also The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Report of Special Committee of Investigation Appointed by the Commission on the Church and Social Service of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America Concerning the Industrial Situation at South Bethlehem, Pa., 17,18. The recommendations, signed by Stelzle, Strong and Kellogg, suggested a six day week and, where operations were necessarily continuous, suggested that the twenty-four hours be divided into three shifts of eight instead of two shifts of twelve hours. It was also recommended that the right of all workers to organize be recognized and that employers of labor recognize such organizations when they speak in behalf of their members.

In 1910 the Federal Council adopted for the use of Bible classes and other organizations throughout the country a plan of studies on social topics using The Gospel of the Kingdom prepared by Strong's Institute of Social Service.[164] In contrasting the work of the Federal Council with that of the Evangelical Alliance, Strong stated in 1915 that the Council's spirit and purpose were "eminently social" and precisely such as was best calculated to insure its permanence. On the other hand, he claimed that the spirit and purpose of those who engaged in the movement for local alliances which he had started in 1886 under the auspices of the Evangelical Alliance were individualistic and essentially concerned with church work alone. As a result, the movement had died.[165] While Strong believed that not all the many denominations belonging to the Federal Council were "filled with the social spirit and engaged in social ministration," he did place great hope in the fact that the thousands in the Federal Council who did accept social Christianity included most of the religious leaders of the day.[166]

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[164] Second Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 68.

[165] World-Religion, 463.

[166] Ibid., 465.

In an effort to induce the Christian people of some city actually to undertake the plan of city evangelization proposed in The Challenge of the City, Strong in the winter and spring of 1908 wrote to the religious leaders in Grand Rapids, Milwaukee, Dayton, Columbus, Jersey City, Worcester, Providence and Buffalo requesting names of approximately fifteen ministers and fifteen laymen likely to be interested in his plan. He requested that the men represent the predominant denominations of the city and also the influence and money so essentially needed to carry out the plan if adopted. One of the replies, that of the Reverend Henry Stauffer of Milwaukee, read:

> I earnestly pray that you may be the means of arousing the financial and religious leaders of the city to a sense of their obligation. I have carefully excluded the brewers from this list, some of whom are very generous! There is plenty of "Tainted Money" here.[167]

At his own expense, Strong sent copies of The Challenge of the City to those whose names he received, requesting opinions as to the practicability of the plan in their city. He wrote to the Reverend Arthur S. Burrows of Worcester, Massachusetts that his purpose was "to find a concensus of favorable judgment in one or two cities sufficient to encourage an effort to produce a working model, namely, a city actually undertaking to reach all its families with Christian influence."[168] If a large proportion

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167. All information concerning Strong's efforts to have his plan of 1907 put to work was obtained from a collection of letters between Strong and ministers concerning the plan found in the E. Strong Collection. See Stauffer to Strong, Milwaukee, Feb.1/08.

168. Strong to Arthur S. Burrows, May 20/08.

of the men believed that the plan could be worked out in their city, Strong was then to follow up by travelling to the city to address a meeting of pastors and laymen about the project.[169]

Both ministers and laymen responded to Strong's letters with such enthusiasm that Strong commented,"I am almost as much surprised as I am gratified that the letters thus far received are in very full sympathy with the book."[170] Some ministers, while praising Strong's project, questioned whether enough money could be raised to carry out the scheme.[171] Some criticized Strong as being unrealistic about human nature and about the degree of social consciousness in the church.[172] There is evidence that a church in the tenement district of Buffalo was expanded to an institutional church through the help of its richer brother church. The influence of Strong's ideas was acknowledged and a copy of The Challenge of the City was deposited in the copper box that went into the corner stone of the building.[173] However, Strong's hope for the adoption of the plan by the cooperation of all the religious and lay leaders

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169. Strong to Stauffer, Hanover St. Congregational Church, Milwaukee, Jan.20/08; Strong to C.M. Keeler of Young People's Missionary Movement, May9/08; the initial person with whom Strong corresponded in Milwaukee was Stauffer, in Jersey City-John L. Scudder, in Columbus-Gladden, in Buffalo-Frank S. Fitch, in Dayton-J.P. Landis, Dean of Union Biblical Seminary and one of Strong's friends from seminary days.

170. Strong to Burrows, May 20/08.

171. Strong to Reverend P.M. Camp, Dayton, May 27/08; Strong to Stauffer,Jan.13/08; Strong to Reverend W.W. Merrian, Worcester, May14/08.

172. John Ihlder, Secretary of the Comprehensive City Plan Commission, Grand Rapids, to Strong, June 29/08; the Reverend J. Francis Cooper to Strong, Providence,July 14/08.

173. Howard Winship to Strong, Buffalo, Oct. 14/08.

of an entire city did not materialize. Strong, himself, believed the plan was "entirely explicit, tangible, and within easy reach" and "a practical application of social Christianity to the solution of the problem of the city." He believed it was a plan that was justified both by reason and by faith.[174] Perhaps Professor James Q. Dealey of the Department of Social and Political Science at Brown University "scientifically" best analyzed the reasons why the plan was not realized, when he wrote to Strong in June, 1908:

> I think the plan you suggest is good as an immediate program, but impracticable at present because our churches and ministry are not sufficiently acquainted with social problems, nor religious enough to work for a movement not primarily evangelical and denominational.
>
> ....
>
> At present, under conditions, I am sceptical of your success in stirring up a vigorous movement such as you desire.
>
> At the same time for the lack of such an inspiring and aggressive policy the churches are suffering and will lose influence steadily in city life.[175]

Strong's plan had called for unselfish service on the part of both clergy and laymen to save the city. Though many praised his plan, a sufficient number was not ready to sacrifice to see it realized.

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174. Challenge of City, 273, 275, xiii.

175. James Q. Dealey to Strong, Providence, June 8/08. Lester F. Ward was in the same department as Dealey.

Strong's concern over the urgency of the city problem for the future of the church, of the Kingdom and of civilization, itself, caused him to direct his efforts in support of many programs for civic betterment in addition to his program of city evangelization. Through the pages of Social Service and the services of the League, Strong sought to teach men "how to live in cities."[176] One of the series projected in the League's leaflet series, Series F, was to be devoted to municipal problems, and was intended especially for the use of mayors and other city officials who desired to inform themselves on up-to-date matters of civic interest. Apparently the only leaflet in this series to be printed was one written by Mayor Josiah Quincy of Boston, dealing with the Boys' Municipal Camp of Boston, and intended to serve as an object lesson to other communities.[177] From its establishment in 1898 the League had a department on municipal problems.[178] Strong believed that the data of the department on park systems, public baths, street cleaning, garbage disposal, light and water systems, fire departments and housing problems could teach about municipal betterment in a single visit what a month's tour of the cities of the United States might not.[179]

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176. S.S., 1:18-19 (Nov.'99), Strong's address before the Get-Together Club; see also Strong, "Why a League for Social Service," S.S., 5:42 (Sept.'02).

177. Josiah Quincy, Boys' Municipal Camp of Boston in Social Service. Series F. Municipal (New York, no date).

178. S.S., 1:16 (Sept.'99).

179. S.S., 1:18-19 (Nov.'99); 4:7 (Sept.'01); 6:68 (Oct.'02).

A member of the Minneapolis Board of Park Commissioners wrote to Dr. Tolman in July, 1899, expressing appreciation to the League for its great assistance to him, while he was in New York City, in seeking information about public baths. The commissioner wrote that the information secured from the League "amounted to more than from all other sources combined" in his visits to many cities. He hoped that others might be as fortunate as he in "lighting upon your Social Service Bureau."[180] During 1905 alone, representatives of eight cities in New York, New Jersey and New England consulted the Institute concerning local problems. In one instance, in accordance with advice given by the Institute, the city decided to erect a building for a social center and was furnished with a full program of work by the Institute.[181] Strong was confident that cities, as well as other institutions, could profit by the experience of others, if such experience were readily available.

Although the Institute through the various services of its municipal department aided cities in preventing and solving problems, Strong saw the need for much more extensive facilities and service. He urged the establishment of a municipal museum presenting a collection of facts, photographs, graphs, models, and diagrams adequately presenting the life of cities, large and small, the world over. He believed such a museum should employ a sufficient force of experts to collect annually information on experiments in municipal betterment and planning from important cities of the world, sift, interpret and tabulate this material, and finally publish an annual report with the conclusions of this comparative study. Strong deplored the fact that because of the lack of such a comparative study a thousand methods were tried whose worthlessness already had been demonstrated. By applying "scientific, laboratory methods to investigating the problem of collective living," a municipal museum could prescribe a "scientific remedy" for the solution of municipal problems and enable "each city to benefit by the experience of every other."[182] The Municipal Museum of Chicago, a local museum with much more limited scope and facilities, had been founded by the City Homes Association of Chicago in November, 1904.[183] As usual, the major obstacle to the realization of Strong's plan was the lack of funds. Strong made an appeal in 1906, stating:

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[180] S.S., 1:5 (Sept.'99), Annual Report, letter by H.W. Jones to Tolman, July 29/99.

[181] S.S., 12:9 (March '06), Annual Report.

> Where is the man whose head, heart and pocketbook are all great enough to meet this great need of humanity by establishing a municipal museum for the United States and for the world?[184]

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182. S.S., 13:3-4 (Sept.'06).

183. Social Progress, 1905, 138.

184. S.S.,13:4 (Sept.'06).

With the hope of encouraging and aiding civic betterment, Strong sought to arouse an interest in village improvement societies. An appeal was made in the October, 1899, issue of Social Service for the names and addresses of secretaries of village improvement associations in order to compare their methods and bring their work to the notice of a wider public.[185] The League published and sent out a leaflet on village improvement, Series K of its leaflet series, in the spring of 1901. The leaflet discussed the advantages of village improvement, sketched briefly the history of the movement, outlined a program for cleaning up a community by use of garbage receptacles, and suggested a constitution for such societies. Strong was requested to address the Sixth Annual Meeting of the American Park and Outdoor Art Association in Boston in August, 1902, on the scope of the League's work.[186]

In March, 1903, the League devoted an entire issue of Social Service to the topic of village improvement.[187] In this issue, Strong discussed the subject of village improvement societies from the point of view of developing the social conscience. He declared that towns had good men but not good citizens because though their men were conscientious, their conscience was of the individualistic rather than the social type. These men did not realize that "indifference to the public welfare is selfishness."[188] The social conscience, Strong wrote, was thoughtful not only of the rights and well-being of others, but also of the comfort and pleasure of others. Strong saw a great service performed by village improvement societies, for "whatever arouses interest in the general welfare, like a village improvement society, tends to educate the social conscience."[189] Village improvement would appeal to all, Strong concluded, if all were told it was a matter of conscience as well as of taste.

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[185] S.S., 1:13 (Oct.'99).

[186] S.S., 3:60 (March'01); Village Improvement. Advantages, Scope and Suggested Constitution in Social Service. Series K. Village Improvement (New York, no date); S.S., 5:35 (Aug.'02).

[187] S.S., 7:45 (March'03).

In Strong's opinion, improved housing was an essential feature of city planning and improvement. Strong had repeatedly asserted that the home was one of the saving institutions of society and that the city, with its crowded living quarters, destroyed the influences of the home.[190] He saw a threat to family life in crowded tenement living, and deplored the fact that in 1901 in New York City only 6 percent of the population were able to own their own homes.[191] Included in the League's municipal collection were plans of model tenements, slides on housing in numerous European cities, and prepared materials suitable for reading lecture courses on civic improvement which included "Home Possibilities in American Cities."[192] In its exhibit on social and industrial betterment at the St. Louis Exposition of 1904, the League devoted one entire section to improved housing, showing workingmen's houses in large industrial areas.[193] Social Service gave praise and publicity to the City and Suburban Homes Company of New York City which was building homes at a reasonable cost for those desiring to own or rent a home.[194] A committee of the Federation of Churches of Pittsburgh and Alleghany was cited for having initiated the creation of an Improved Dwelling Company designed to build better homes for the working people.[195] "An altruistic manufacturing settlement," a model factory town, projected in

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[188] Strong, "Village Improvement and the Social Conscience," S.S., 7:45 (March'03).

[189] Ibid., 46.

[190] New Era, 196, 201, 260-1; 20C City, 73; Challenge of City, 52-3, 98-105; Religious Movements, 45; New York Tribune, Jan. 26, 1901, 16/2.

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191. New York Tribune, Jan.26, 1901, 16/2. In Our Country, 133, Strong stated, "Let a man become the owner of a home, and he is much less susceptible to socialistic propagandism."

192. S.S., 6:67 (Oct.'02); 9:108 (June '04); 12:1 (Jan.'06).

193. S.S., 10:11 (July '04).

194. S.S., 2:6-7 (March '09).

195. S.S., 2:10-13 (June '00).

Belle Meade, New Jersey, was the direct outcome of a series of meetings called an "industrial and social revival" held by the League in Trenton in 1899. The business men of Trenton incorporated a company with $35,000 capital stock and employed the League for Social Service as social engineers to manage the social interests of the settlement.[196] In 1905, three United States' industrialists and one Austrian industrialist asked the Institute for aid in planning industrial villages.[197]

Dr. Strong and the League took an active part in a project in 1901 to get New York City itself to provide housing for the poor.[198] A movement was launched to have the city acquire property, one block of ground on the East Side, and erect upon it model tenements to be rented by the municipality. A petition was circulated extensively by the League asking the Legislature to allow the city to go into the real-estate business in this way. The petition proposed that the block of buildings owned by the city be rented at prices which would return to the city the legal rate of interest on the investment and the cost of keeping the homes in first rate condition. The conditions laid down for building the homes included provisions that the buildings be fireproof, that one full city block be the area used, that all modern improvements be introduced, and that no intoxicants should be sold on the premises. By prohibiting the sale of liquor, it was believed that the city would be committed to a line of policy which would in time commend itself to all citizens by checking the causes of demoralization and vice.

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[196] S.S., 1:13 (Sept.'99); 2:3 (April'00); 5:97 (March'02); 3:3 (Jan.'01). Strong and Tolman wrote an article correcting the false impression that was abroad that the League was engaging in land speculation, explaining that the League had no financial interest in the project but had been retained as social engineers and were directing efforts toward "giving the factory employees the greatest possible social and industrial benefits at the outset."

[197] S.S., 12:9 (March'06).

[198] New York Times, Feb.10, 1901, 24/6; New York Tribune, Feb. 10, 1901, 5/2.

The purpose of these recommendations for municipal ownership of model tenements was not alone to furnish homes for the people who would otherwise never have them, but also to furnish employment for mechanics, laborers and tradesmen. In the process of doing away with unsanitary tenement houses, the whole community would benefit. The New York Times quoted a circular on the subject issued by the League which declared that the proposal "will gradually put in operation a system that will restore to the people the right to live on the earth without paying at least one-fourth of all they earn to landlords for what nature intended should be the common heritage of all people."[199] Strong, although not associated with Henry George, had repeatedly pointed out the disastrous effects that the rise in real estate values in down-town areas of cities had on the possibility of individually owned homes.[200] The plan was endorsed by the Reverends R. Heber

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[199] New York Times, Feb.10,1901, 24/6.

[200] New Era, 196; 20C City, 73.

Newton, Madison C. Peters, Rufus W. Weeks, and J.G. Phelps Stokes, and by Ernest H. Crosby, Robert Winston, Mornay Williams, T.H. Sill, W.D.P.Bliss and the Journeymen of Marble Cutters. The League and the signers of the petition believed the plan was worth trying, at least as an experiment, being confident it would demonstrate the feasibility of building model houses for the people. The New York Tribune commented that the building of free public bath houses was also being agitated at the same time.[201] Although the League never campaigned for municipal ownership of public utilities, it did print articles by various authorities urging such steps.[202] The League's interest in housing for the poor was also shown when it set up a committee to cooperate with the International Housing Congress held in Paris in the summer of 1903. On the committee were Richard W. Gilder, Albert Shaw, Carroll D. Wright, Stanley McCormick, Robert Garrett, Talcott Williams and M.E. Ingalls.[203]

Strong emphasized in his magazine Social Service, as well as in his books, the vital importance of both municipal planning and municipal improvements. He asserted that the original developments in the establishment of cities were "significant and prophetic" because of the extreme difficulty of remodelling a city. He urged the generation to which he wrote to seize the opportunity of fashioning the stamp which the city would give to the new civilization. To do so would be "to fashion the mould into which the new and plastic civilization will run. To miss the opportunity is to leave to future generations to file the cold cast."[204] He used the term "frontier of the city" to signify a new frontier that was being created and widened every year while the agrarian frontier of the country was being continually narrowed by the advance of civilization. To clarify any confusion over use of the term, Strong explained:

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[201] New York Tribune, Feb.10, 1901, 5/2.

[202] S.S.,3:140-1 (May '01); 4:134-5 (Oct.'01).

[203] New York Tribune, April 9, 1903, 7/2.

> What do I mean by the frontier of the city? Here are villages to-day which a hundred years hence will be great cities. . . . Here is a new kind of frontier. And not only are the small towns of to-day that are destined to grow included in that frontier; the great cities of to-day, in an important sense, belong to it, because the principles on which our cities are to be governed are as yet formative.[205]

He warned that the intelligence or ignorance with which the foundations of young cities were being laid would determine for hundreds of years the future beauty, healthfulness and morality of these cities.[206] In an issue of Social Service devoted to parks and recreation areas, Strong expressed the hope that the hundreds of towns in the United States, which fifty or a hundred years hence would be large cities, would have sufficient foresight to provide adequate parks and playgrounds "before the appreciation of land values makes prices prohibitive."[207]

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[204] World-Life, 274; Our Country, 144-8.

[205] Josiah Strong. Home Missions and the City of the Future (New York, no date), 7. This pamphlet published by the Congregational Home Missionary Society is in the E. Strong Collection.

[206] Ibid.; World-Life, 274; S.S., 1:18-19 (Nov.'99); 2:3 (June'00).

Foreseeing the development of large cities in the American West, Strong urged the potential cities to have the foresight to provide against crowding, which had already bred physical and moral disease in the cities of the East.[208] In 1905, the Institute received a request for information on industrial betterment and institutional churches as well as for published sermons appropriate for miners from a promoting and mining company in New Mexico about to build a mining town.[209] Strong also urged the South in 1901 to recognize that the industrial revolution would inevitably work out its natural results in the South as it had done in the North and in England. He urged the South to profit by the experience of the North and apply to her new problems such solutions and preventatives as had already been worked out elsewhere.[210] Strong wrote that the evils attending the sudden changes of city life had come so gradually in the North and in Europe that they were thoroughly rooted before they were scarcely recognized. The South, by accepting the inevitable shift of population to the cities and by planning while the cities were still developing, could make "her cities fit places to live in." By planning, the South could prevent the tenement house evil, provide ample land for parks and playgrounds while land was cheap, curb the liquor power, prevent political bossism and create, through the efforts of leading men, cooperation between capital and labor.[211] In 1905, on request, the League aided in making programs, suggesting and securing speakers, and, in addition, furnishing photographs to illustrate institutional church work and industrial and social betterment for a woman's group in the South which "proposed to hold institutes in New Orleans, Mobile and Atlanta with a view to arousing the churches of the South touching their social mission, and educating them in the most effective methods of work."[212] Strong believed that the experience of learning how to live in cities had to be carried to the unborn cities of Asia which were sure to grow following the introduction of the industrial revolution in that region.[213] He must have

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[207] Josiah Strong, "Parks and Playgrounds," S.S.,7:95 (May'03).

[208] S.S.,2:3 (June '00).

[209] S.S., 12:9 (March '06).

[210] Josiah Strong, "The Old South and the New," S.S.,4:36 (Aug. '01); also Josiah Strong, "The New Opportunities of the New South," S.S.,4:69-70 (Sept.'01).

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211. S.S., 4:70-1 (Sept.'01).

212. S.S., 12:9 (March '06).

213. World-Life, 270-5; for Strong's views on the city movement as a world movement see Our Country, 137, New Era, 174-6, 20C City, 31, Challenge of City, 18.

been hopeful when governmental officials of both Japan and China made use of the Institute's services in 1905 and, when, by February 1906, a Japanese Institute was being set up patterned after that in the United States.[214]

Through the financial cooperation of "some good friends" of the Institute, it published in 1903 a guide book for students and investigators of the most notable and typical achievements in social betterment in New York City. The Better New York, a Sociological Baedeker was prepared by Charles Hempstreet, author of a number of books on New York City, who came to work for the Institute in 1903. The volume received a gold medal at the Liége International Exposition of 1905.[215] This publication led to the creation of a new department of the Institute devoted to "Guide Studies" of the sociological activities of various cities. It was believed that a study, such as the first, "One Week of Sight-Seeing in New York," because of its exhaustive information would enable the visitor or the reader at home to see "sociological New York properly, completely and quickly."[216]

Strong expended a great deal of effort in arousing a consciousness of the problem of the city, its nature and ultimate solution. He saw need for immediate action in its solution, but no cause for panic or despair. He was confident that the problem could be solved and would be solved. He emphasized, however, that the speed and completeness of its solution depended upon an awakening of the church and all its members to the social teachings of Jesus. The city problem would be solved, for the Kingdom was to come on earth, but it would not be solved until the city was saved; and the city could not be saved without religion.[217]

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[214] S.S., 12:9 (March '06); Josiah Strong, "What Social Service Means: A Clearing House of Experience in Social and Industrial Betterment," The Craftsman, 9:620-33 (Feb. '06).

[215] S.S., 7:80-1 (April '03), 124 (June'03); 8:90 (Nov. '03); 9:32 (Feb. '04), 39-44 (March '04); S.S., 11:135 (Oct. '05).

[216] S.S., 10:16 (July'04); 9:73 (April'04).

Strong could be classified as "an evangelical sociologist" who saw the problem of the city as essentially an ethical one.[218] It is not correct, however, to describe him, as some students have done, as a social gospel leader who recommended action by welfare agencies or social service activities, such as institutional churches, social settlements or his own League, as a substitute for political reform in the solution of the urban problem.[219] Strong's demands for the initiative and referendum, for scientific legislation, a municipal museum, civic planning and improvement, non-partisanship in municipal politics and his

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217. Challenge of City, 200.

218. William Diamond, "On the Dangers of an Urban Interpretation of History" in Eric F. Goldman, ed., Historiography and Urbanization (Baltimore, 1941), 7, 71.

219. Statement and conclusion drawn by Robert R. Roberts, "Economic and Political Ideas Expressed In the Early Social Gospel Movement, 1875-1900," unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1952. This work will be cited hereafter as Roberts, Early Social Gospel Movement.

participation in the New York State Group for the Adoption of the Initiative and Referendum, in The Religious Citizenship League For Social Progress Through Political Action and in the Social Center Movement (with purpose to instruct in citizenship) would seem to refute the conclusion that "his belief that individual regeneration preceded any effective reform . . . led him to concentrate his attention on the agencies of moral reform instead of those of political reform."[220] Strong, indeed, believed that a change of spirit in man was necessary for the solution of all problems; but he did not isolate his efforts; he did not choose to save the city through social settlements and institutional churches "instead of" through agencies of political reform. Although he did not support any one political party, his efforts were all pointed toward arousing public opinion for social action, in part to be achieved through social legislation. Strong believed that the city problem could not be solved by either institutional churches or political reform alone; both were vitally necessary. Man's salvation depended on and was to be accomplished through elevating both his spirit and his environment, and Strong directed his efforts toward achievement in both areas. Strong's basic proposition was that individual salvation was the key to reform, but neither his philosophy nor his action justifies the conclusion that

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[220] *Ibid.*, 123, 151.

"his solutions were of the welfare type" alone.[221] Strong preached that every individual and every institution of society--economic, political, social and religious--had to be "re-born", ruled by unselfishness, for the full coming of the Kingdom. He maintained, therefore, that every agency and institution of society played an essential part in hastening that Kingdom. Strong's philosophy as well as his efforts were, thus, not concentrated on any one agency of society, but were all-inclusive.

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[221] Roberts, Early Social Gospel Movement, 124, 126. Roberts stated that "Strong's aim and throughout his career, his central position on urban problems, was the expansion of social service through such organizations[social settlements and institutional churches.] His ideas on political reform at the municipal level were consistently subordinated to his 'mission' ideal."

CHAPTER FOUR

Strong's World-view

At the very time that Strong was enthusiastically proposing his plan for city evangelization, for a museum of safety, a municipal museum and a department of comparative social legislation, the Institute was forced by lack of funds to restrict its efforts. The Institute needed approximately $30,000 a year for its work, and it started the year 1906 with an indebtedness of $3,296.30 in unpaid salaries.[1] Strong solicited contributions on behalf of the Institute's Executive and Finance Committee, stating that the Institute would be unable to carry on its program unless funds were contributed for the current and future year.[2] Letters from prominent public officials, such as Theodore Roosevelt, Carroll D. Wright, Grover Cleveland, Senator William P. Frye, commending the Institute and recommending its support, were published in Social

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1. S.S., 12:12 (March'06), Annual Report.

2. Carroll D. Wright to Strong, Worcester, Jan. 24/06, S.S., 12:12 (March'06), Annual Report.

Service. Writing particularly about the proposed department of comparative legislation, Grover Cleveland stated that in his opinion "what this organization is prepared to do for the remedy of these evils [of bad legislation] fully justifies its existence and entitles it to the hearty support and encouragement of all good citizens."[3] Articles on the work and value of the Institute, which also stressed the philanthropic, non-profit nature of the organization and its complete dependence on contributions, appeared in other magazines during the year.[4]

In view of its financial straits, the Institute was also forced to announce that in the future a charge for its services would be made of non-subscribers, since "the actual cost of the service rendered both to members and to the general public is often far in excess of the nominal charge made."[5] Starting in January, 1905, the monthly review of the Institute, Social Service, became a quarterly. With the January, 1906, issue, the entire format of the magazine was changed. It was no longer a magazine of twenty-five to thirty-five pages printed on glazed paper and featuring special articles and numerous illustrations. It became a review of four pages printed on cheap

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3. S.S., 13:4 (Oct.06).

4. Josiah Strong, "What Social Service Means," Craftsman, 9:620-3 (Feb.'06); Mary Cranston, "A Social Service Clearing House," Harper's Monthly, 113:143 (June'06); Social Progress, 1906, 289.

5. S.S., 12:16 (April'06). Fifty cents was charged for ordinary service; more was charged for special cases.

paper with no illustrations or featured articles. Because of lack of funds, the publication of the magazine was suspended after the November-December issue of 1906.

In the last issue of Social Service, Strong outlined the vast possibilities of more extended work which the Institute could readily accomplish with "even a small additional expenditure." The library department could be expanded; lectures could be provided for more areas in the nation; the Institute's 6,000 photographs could be made into slides and its services for lending its collections enlarged; the publication of Social Service could be resumed as well as the printing of leaflets, which though still in demand, had been discontinued because of lack of funds; and an international department of social information under the full time guidance of an individual director could be developed on a much larger scale than now existed.[6] In December, 1906, a desperate appeal was made for $150,000 to accomplish the plans of the Institute, particularly the establishment of a museum of safety, a municipal museum and a department of comparative social legislation. Charles E. Hughes, Homer Eaton (president of the Methodist Book Company), L. C. Smith (industrialist), Stewart L. Woodford (former United States minister to Spain) and David H. Greer (Episcopal Bishop of New York) endorsed the organization and seconded the appeal for funds after paying

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6. S.S., 13:38-9 (Nov.-Dec.'06).

a personal visit to the Institute headquarters in the United Charities Building in New York City and hearing of its plans. In the opinion of some of its supporters the Institute had long since proved its value and should be endowed.[7]

Unfortunately, the desired sum was not raised, and disagreement over the acquiring of funds caused Dr. Tolman to sever his association with the Institute. Tolman became director of the museum of safety which was established in 1908. Inadequate finances long continued to be a major obstacle in the work of the Institute. In September, 1914, an appeal was made for pledges of financial support to total $12,000 a year for at least three years.[8] As late as 1917, a year after Strong's death, pleas for an endowment were still being made. In a report on the work of the Institute for the year 1916-1917, Mornay Williams, New York lawyer and acting president after Strong's death, declared that the scattered support which the Institute received resulted from the fact that it carried "no badge." It appealed not to a specific race, party or church but to the brotherhood of man on a religious basis including all denominations, all political parties. Precisely because it was thus broad in aim as well as outlook,

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[7] Letter by Richard Watson Gilder to Institute, S.S., 13:4 (Oct.'06); Carroll D. Wright to Strong, Jan. 24/06. Wright stated that two to three more years were needed to test the Institute before an endowment would be likely.

[8] Gos. of K., 6:142-3 (Sept.'14).

Williams stated, the Institute had only "a scattered constituency."[9]

Although it lacked sufficient funds to carry on its work on the scale desired, the Institute continued, after 1907, its basic services, which included the reference library, the circulation of slides, and the preparation of bibliographies. In addition it conducted special investigations on request and maintained a lectureship on social subjects. Still a vital part of its plans, even in 1910, were a museum of municipal fact and photographs as well as a museum of the laws of all countries touching social problems.[10]

A new monthly publication, called *The Gospel of the Kingdom*, was started by the Institute in October, 1908. Strong had agreed to edit, starting in October of 1908, a new department of the *Homiletic Review*, which would take the form of weekly lessons devoted to applied Christianity. Although the lessons appeared regularly in the *Homiletic Review*, they became, at the same time, the substance of the Institute's monthly publication, *The Gospel of the Kingdom*.[11] In connection with the lesson series, the Institute inaugurated a new course of weekly study classes and organized some 500 or more of these in the United States and Canada. The lessons endeavored to show specific ways of relating religion to society by giving the facts involved in various social problems and then showing the teachings of Jesus bearing on those problems. In an editorial on the first lesson, Strong wrote that while "explicit directions [on] how to deal with the perplexities of life" could not be found in the New Testament, principles could nevertheless be found in the teachings of Jesus which were world-wide in application. Christians were bound to work out the relationship of these principles to all human activities and then faithfully live those principles in their own lives in their relations to God and men.[12] In July, 1901, Strong had inquired of the readers of *Social Service* whether they desired that he edit a special department in the review "devoted to facts bearing on human betterment which are suited to use in the pulpit?"[13] The lessons in *The Gospel of the*

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[9] *American Institute of Social Service. Reports of the Work of the American Institute of Social Service for the Year, 1916-1917. Bulletin Vol. II, No. 1, New York, 1917. Published by the Authority of the National Council*, 5, 16, Library of the College of the City of New York. See also the Reverend Irving W. Metcalf, Chairman, Committee on Church Property of the National Council of Congregational Churches, to Strong, Oberlin, Nov. 24/08 in E. Strong Collection.

[10] *The Inter-Relation of Social Movements with Information About Sixty-seven Organizations* (New York, 1910), 11; *The American Institute of Social Service. What It Is. What It Has. What It Does. How It Works. What It Wants. The Science of Collective Living* (New York, no date), 4-5, Library of the College of the City of New York. This work will be cited hereafter as *Amer. Institute of Soc. Ser. What It Is. What It Has.*

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[11] *Homiletic Review*, 56:8 (July'08), 129 (Aug.'08), 175 (Sept.'08).

[12] *Gos. of K.*, 1:1-2 (Oct.'08), editorial by Strong.

[13] *S.S.*, 3:4 (July'01).

Kingdom were the realization of this proposal. The failure of the churches and the laity to adopt his plan of city evangelization of 1907 convinced Strong that the clergy as well as the individual Christian still lacked the "knowledge as to conditions and measures, a holy purpose and a great enthusiasm" needed to save the individual as well as society.[14] The studies were an attempt once again by Strong to educate the public, particularly the church and its young people's groups, in the meaning of the social gospel. These studies, he hoped, would realize the awakening of the social conscience and thus supply the essential motive which he for so long had urged was needed for social action. "Educate People and Action Will Come" was a slogan quoted by the new magazine.[15]

The lessons, themselves, while prefaced by editorials often written by Strong, were for the most part prepared by W. D. P. Bliss, whose Encyclopedia of Social Reform had been recommended by Strong. Strong wrote of Bliss in November, 1912: "Few men have as wide an acquaintance with social problems; fewer still are as capable of seeing all around a question and doing justice to both sides."[16] A National Advisory Committee of about thirty, with Strong as chairman, reviewed the lessons. The Committee was not responsible, however, for the details of the lessons or the management of the magazine. Noted social reformers who were on the Committee or Council from its earliest days until the end of the Institute in 1918 were Washington Gladden, Eugene R. Hendrix, Walter Laidlaw, Walter Rauschenbusch, Harry F. Ward, George Wenner, Graham Taylor, Russell Conwell, C. R. Henderson, George Hodges, Ira Laindrith, Frank M. North and Nathaniel M. Pratt. The lessons were endorsed by the Social Service Commission of the Federal Council of Churches and the Central Committee of the Men and Religion Forward Movement.[17] The lessons discussed such subjects as labor relations, housing, civic corruption, immigration, wealth, socialism, the Kingdom idea, the home and the family, crime, the race problem, legislative measures for carrying out social principles and the problems of war and peace.[18]

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[14] Gos. of K., 6:142 (Sept.'14).

[15] Gos. of K., 3:191 (Dec.'11), 169 (Nov.'11); 6:142 (Sept.'14).

[16] Gos. of K., 4:174 (Nov.'12).

For the year 1911, the studies in The Gospel of the Kingdom were to discuss the list of subjects which the Commission on the Church and Social Service of the Federal Council of Churches had adopted and recommended to all churches for

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17. For studies endorsed by the Federal Council of Churches from 1911 to 1915 see Gos. of K., 2:183 (Dec.'10); 5:159-60 (Oct.'13); 7:cover (Jan.'15); for studies endorsed by the Men and Religion Forward Movement for 1912 see Gos. of K., 4:8 (Jan.'12).

18. Gos. of K., 2 (Jan.'10), Kingdom idea; 5:159-60 (Oct.'13), legislative measures; 7 (1915), the topic for the year was the problems of war and peace.

investigation, study and action during that year. The Institute proudly announced that the Commission had appointed the Institute as "its organ for investigating these subjects for the churches."[19] The topics were generally treated so as to include the Scriptural basis which applied, the facts concerned in the question, topics for study and references for reading, and, finally, questions for discussion. On controversial subjects, such as socialism and especially Christian socialism, both sides of the argument were presented with no attempt to favor one theory or another.[20] Since the Institute, itself, however, was devoted to social action and reform, The Gospel of the Kingdom clearly expressed the views of the organization regarding the functions of government. Not government, itself, but "only the abuse of government" was evil, it declared. The new collective society demanded that functions be extended to make the government truly a servant of the people. Although the magazine recognized the limited power of legislation, it nevertheless urged government action through reform legislation. It stated, "Evil has long used government

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19. Gos. of K., 2:41 (Jan.'10), 183 (Dec.'10).

20. Gos. of K., 1:57-8 (May'09), see editorial by Strong, "What Must Society Do To Be Saved," in which Strong speaks out against socialism. The lessons on socialism present the Scriptural basis and also various objections as well as certain merits of socialism, see Gos. of K., 5:33-41 (March'13). At this time W. D. P. Bliss, Walter Rauschenbusch and Harry F. Ward were on the Council of the Institute.

for evil purposes. God's men must use it for the people."[21] To solve the problem of unemployment, it suggested a public works program in which the state would raise money by bonds for building roads and preserving forests, and, thus, put many to work.[22] The lessons suggested federal incorporation and regulation of trusts as well as publicity on the practices and structure of all corporations--their directorates, ownership of stock, earnings and dividends. They recommended also that publicity be given to the organization and methods of trade unions. These proposals were based on the idea that the extension of the functions of the federal government would not lead to socialism, but might, in fact, prevent socialism.[23] The Gospel of the Kingdom stressed that it made these statements in the interest of general social reform rather than in advocacy of any specific legislation, and, suggested that those, however, who believed in the practicability of the suggestions and measures could join the Religious Citizenship League, of which Strong was a vice-president and Bliss the general secretary, and which had been organized to carry into effect the principles discussed by social gospel leaders.[24]

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21. Gos. of K., 5:5 (Jan.'13); 4:20 (Feb.'12); 6:3 (Jan.'14), 35 (March'14).

22. Gos. of K., 6:82 (June'14).

23. Gos. of K., 6:119, 129 (Aug.'14).

24. Gos. of K., 6:18 (Feb.'14).

It was estimated that the 500 classes for the study of the other lessons, organized in the United States and Canada by 1910, reached about 12,000 students.[25] The lessons were recommended by Professor Graham Taylor to his readers in his book, Religion in Social Action in 1913.[26] These were used by the major Protestant denominations and in states in all sections of the nation.[27] The lessons were praised for having stimulated interest, both in the church and outside, in the study of social problems. The pastor of a Congregational church in Providence wrote that his class was planning to support the child-labor law to be presented at the next session of the state legislature.[28] In 1918 the president of the

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[25] Gos. of K., 2:185 (Dec.'10); 1:112 (Nov.'09); 6:142 (Sept.'14); see also Amer. Institute of Soc. Ser. What It Is. What It Has, 5-6; Hopkins, Rise of Social Gospel, 262-3. He called The Gospel of the Kingdom lessons "the most popular item in a great body of study materials" of this period. He stated that the lessons ended with the September, 1916, issue; however, lessons were issued and published by the Institute as late as September, 1918, and then thereafter published and edited under the direction of the Homiletic Review. See Gos. of K., 10 (Sept.'18); 11 (Oct.'18), 13 (Oct. '20).

[26] Taylor, Religion in Social Action, 279.

[27] Among the various states reached by the lessons were Vermont, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Ohio, Michigan, Missouri, Indiana, Wyoming, North Dakota, and Illinois. In 1914 the magazine had a subscription list of 7,000, see Gos. of K., 6:142 (Sept.'14), 88 (June'14); 10:159 (July'18); see also Homiletic Review, 60:106 (Aug.'10).

[28] Gos. of K., 1:back cover (Dec.'08).

Illinois School Board Association wrote that he had used the lessons for seven years as the text in a Sunday school class of 75 men and women. He commented that he had seen members of his class "who were narrow and creed-bound expand and develop and gain a world-view, all through the study of these unique lessons, which are intended to show how Christian principles may be applied to the solution of our vexing social problems."[29]

Another major effort by which the American Institute for Social Service hoped to educate and arouse public opinion during the years 1908 to 1916 was the creation and extended use of a social lecture bureau. It also continued its service of providing prepared lectures accompanied with slides. The new bureau now supplied speakers to organizations desiring lectures on social subjects as well as the services of the official lecturer of the Institute, Dr. James H. Ecob. Ecob lectured to groups on request with a charge only"for traveling and entertainment."[30] In 1911 the Institute publicized a series of six illustrated lectures, written by Bliss, for presentation in a given community in the form of a week's social campaign or"revival", sponsored by the churches, YMCA's, ministerial associations or civic societies of the community.

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29. Gos. of K., 10:159 (July'18).

30. Amer. Institute of Soc. Ser. What It Is. What It Has., 5; Gos. of K., 2:38 (March'10), 185 (Dec.'10); 5:42 (March'13).

Here the Institute was suggesting a social "revival" similar to the program which had been carried out so successfully in Trenton in 1899. The Institute believed that although such movements as the Men and Religion Forward Movement had stirred an interest in social service, a program for putting that interest into action was lacking. The social revival proposed to demonstrate the exact needs of the community and what should be done. The lectures were to be a brief course in practical sociology.[31] If the community or society desired a good preacher to speak three times on Sunday in different churches to introduce the campaign, the Institute would supply one at the rate of $20 plus the cost of $3.00 per lecture.[32] For a more elaborate program, the Institute would provide a social expert as lecturer, who would spend a week in the community studying the situation, and consult and advise with committees on plans for permanent work.[33] Within the first year the lectures were given in industrial cities such as New York, Brooklyn, Patterson and in points as far apart as

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[31] Open letter by M. J. Whitty, Secretary of the Institute, Gos. of K., 4:158-60 (Oct.'12).

[32] Gos. of K., 3:190-1 (Dec.'11); Bliss wrote the lectures, see Gos. of K., 4:158-60 (Oct.'12); 6:32 (Feb.'14). See an advertisement stating that the illustrated lectures formerly issued under the auspices of the Institute were now issued by the National Lecture Bureau For Christian Social Service, 204 Montaque Street, Brooklyn, Gos. of K., 7:175 (Nov.'15).

[33] Gos. of K., 4:80 (May'12).

Terre Haute, Indiana, and Mobile, Alabama, Olympia, Washington and Easton, Maine.[34]

With the use of its lessons successfully under way, The Gospel of the Kingdom issued a call to action in February, 1910, and offered a plan for such action similar to that proposed by Strong while Secretary of the Evangelical Alliance twenty years before. A new section of the magazine, entitled "What To Do," was devoted to articles on practical methods and plans written by successful workers in the various fields of reform, to information on methods successfully adopted by various groups such as churches and brotherhoods, and to editorial suggestions as to practical work. The section became an interdenominational medium of exchange as to successful social activities to enlighten all pastors, brotherhoods and associations. In line with Strong's earlier plans was the request that each men's religious organization appoint one member to be a link between the Institute and the organization. He would receive the magazine each month, learn of plans and inform the Institute of local conditions "so that plans may be fitted to its actual needs." Such cooperating organizations were not committed to any action, yet Strong believed that out of the workings of this correspondence, united action would come.[35] The resolutions for social service of the various denominations, of the Federal Council of Churches, of the Conference of Church Brotherhoods, although helpful and significant, could not bring the Kingdom. The Gospel of the Kingdom declared, "The Kingdom must be realized, if at all, by practical work. . . . To decide, not what to say, but WHAT TO DO forms the real crisis before the Church to-day."[36]

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[34] Gos. of K., 4:160 (Oct.'12).

[35] Gos. of K., 2:page opposite inside cover (Jan.'10), 17 (Feb.'10), 33 (March'10).

To carry out the practical suggestions made in the section "What To Do," The Gospel of the Kingdom suggested the federation of such local organizations as brotherhoods and Young Men's Christian Associations and the establishment of a permanent central committee which would carry on a permanent campaign for civic betterment as a definite part of its Christian work. Suggestions were made for the organization of such a federation. These included provisions for a Committee on Civic Needs, with "a positive program" rather than "a negative one," a Committee on Instrumentalities, to make known organizations and efforts already existing so as to avoid duplication of effort, and a Committee on Municipal Candidates, to report on the records and platforms of candidates.[37] The magazine stated in February, 1911, that its proposal for uniting the Christian manhood of the churches in practical social

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36. Gos. of K., 2:page opposite inside cover (Jan.'10).

37. Gos. of K., 4:47-8 (March'12).

work had "borne fruit in many places with which we have been in correspondence," one of which was Louisville, Kentucky.[38] The new department of the magazine and its plan for action were praised by pastors in Cincinnati, Oakland, Chicago, and Denver, by an ex-mayor of Kansas City, and by Frank Mason North, chairman of the Commission on the Church and Social Service of the Federal Council of Churches. North wrote that if the magazine could stimulate the churches to practical effort, it would increase "the obligation which we all feel for its valuable service to the Church in the past."[39]

During the years 1908 to 1915, Josiah Strong used the pages of The Gospel of the Kingdom, as he had those of Social Service, to enlighten its readers with the religious philosophy of the Kingdom idea and with its social implications. He reasserted and reaffirmed his message on the meaning of the Kingdom and the social teachings of Jesus, on confidence in the eventual conversion of the church to the social gospel, on the nature of the new industrial society, on the problems of wealth, labor, and capital, on the theory and program of socialism, on the Mormon menace, on the importance of the environment and on the need for effective moral training, based on undenominational religious instruction, in the public schools.[40]

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[38] Gos. of K., 3:31 (Feb.'11).

[39] Gos. of K., 2:40 (March'10).

To Strong, however, the city and its needs were still the crux of the problem of the new civilization and as such a focal point for his ideas and efforts. He stressed the permanency of the movement to the city, the importance of the transitional period in the nation's urbanization, the seriousness of civic corruption, and the need of a new patriotism and a new evangelism for the city's salvation.[41] He attributed

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40. For Strong's views on the Kingdom idea see Gos. of K., 2:1-2 (Jan.'10); for Strong's views on the social teachings of Jesus, see 2:9-10 (Feb.'10), 5:129 (Sept. '13), 7:63-4 (April'15), and Josiah Strong, "The Sunday School and Social Service," Gos. of K., 2:121-2 (Sept.'10) and "The Church and Social Service," 2:137 (Oct.'10), also "Enlarging the Province of the Church," 3:1 (Jan.'11), and "The 'Unfit' in the Christian Economy," 5:81 (June'13); for Strong's views on confidence in the conversion of the church see Strong, "The Conversion of the Church to Christ," Gos. of K., 5:129 (Sept.'13), also "The Church and Social Service," 2:137 (Oct.'10) and 2:153 (Nov.'10); for Strong's views on the new industrial society see Strong, "The Industrial Revolution," Gos. of K., 1:25 (Jan.'09), and "The Next Step," 6:1 (Jan.'14); for Strong's views on the problems of wealth, labor and capital see Strong, "The New Problems of Wealth," Gos. of K., 1:18 (Dec.'08), 5:161-2 (Nov.'13); for Strong's views on socialism see Strong, "What Must Society Do To Be Saved?" Gos. of K., 1:57-8 (May'09); for Strong's views on the Mormon menace see Gos. of K., 5:113 (Aug.'13), entire issue; for Strong's views on the importance of environment see Gos. of K., 1:65 (June'09); for Strong's views on the need of religious instruction in the schools see Gos. of K., 3:15-16 (Jan.'11), 5:145 (Oct.'13).

41. Josiah Strong, "The City and the New Civilization," Gos. of K., 1:33-4 (Feb.'09), and "Civic Corruption," 1:41-2 (March'09); see also Strong, "The Kingdom and the Down-Town Church," Missionary Review, 33:211-14 (March'10).

"bossism" to the neglect and selfishness of "good" men. He asked:

> after all is there a very wide difference between men who corrupt politics for their private interests and those who suffer politics to be corrupted for their private interests; between those who manipulate politics for gain and those who neglect politics for gain? It is the neglect which makes the manipulation and the corruption possible.
>
> The bad citizenship of good men makes them the accomplices of those who are both bad men and bad citizens.[42]

In Strong's opinion, one means of developing the much needed sense of civic responsibility was the establishment of community social centers which would serve as meeting places for recreational, civic and educational activities. Strong was active in the movement for the establishment of social centers throughout the United States and was president of the Social Center Association of America. This association had been established in New York state in 1911.[43] Strong's thinking was evident in the constitution of the association which suggested that a local association, set up to promote social centers, might act as "a civic clearing-house" for the various and diversified forces in the community which were working for public benefit. Thus through united action, the

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42. Strong, "Civic Corruption," Gos. of K., 1:41 (March'09).

43. Gos. of K., 3:92 (June'11). Vice-presidents of the Social Center Association at this time were G. Stanley Hall, Edward J. Ward, founder of the Rochester Social Center and at this time at the University of Wisconsin, and the organizing secretary was W. D. P. Bliss.

power and usefulness of each would be increased. "Above all," the various local associations should employ "social secretaries" to maintain correspondence between the various associations and thus unite their efforts into one effective whole.[44] The first national conference to further the movement was held in Madison, Wisconsin, October 25-28, 1911, under the auspices of the University of Wisconsin in cooperation with the Social Center Association of America. Among the speakers on the program were Strong, Woodrow Wilson, Edward A. Ross, John R. Commons and Robert La Follette.[45]

The Gospel of the Kingdom gave much publicity to the social center movement. It praised the social center as a successful method of reaching all members of the community, especially the immigrant, by promoting civic, social or recreative activities based on principles of civic brotherhood and democracy. The magazine announced in July, 1911, that it intended to make the idea of establishing community social centers its campaign cry for that winter. The magazine also urged direct legislation as another method of defeating "bossism" and Strong, himself, served as a vice-president of the New York State Association for the Adoption of the

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44. Gos. of K., 3:93-4 (June'11), constitution.

45. Gos. of K., 3:159 (Oct.'11). See also Josiah Strong, "The Social Center Movement," Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin. Serial No. 465, General Series No. 302 (Madison, 1911).

Initiative and Referendum.[46]

In the period from 1908 to 1916, Strong gave increasingly greater emphasis in his writing to the theme of a new world-life. The one-world concept had been an essential part of his philosophy since it had been expressed in 1885 in the pages of Our Country. The theme reached its fullest exposition in the volumes Our World. The New World-Life (1913) and Our World. The New World-Religion (1915). In 1913, Strong wrote that the primary purpose of Our Country had been to point out a national crisis and to discuss national perils which had world implications; the purpose of the New World series was to point out specifically a world crisis and to discuss world problems which if not soon solved would become world perils.[47]

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[46] B.O. Flower, "The Direct-Legislation Campaign," Arena, 39:658 (June'08). The other officers were Hamilton Holt, president, George F. Peabody, treasurer, and Henry B. Maurer, secretary. See also Gos. of K., 1:45-6 (March'09); 3:105 (July'11), 72 (May'11), 92-6 (June'11); 6:52-3 (April '14). For comment on B.O. Flower's approval of Strong's League see C.C.Regier, The Era of the Muckrakers (Chapel Hill, 1932), 30.

[47] World-Life, vii, ix. Here Strong commented that this volume was to be the first of a series of four on the theme Our World. See letter by Charles Macfarland, secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, to Strong, July 17, 1913, in which he stated that in the volume Strong was "again opening up a great situation," as he had done "so many times before" and suggested that Strong's proposed next volume of the series on religion be printed "in some form so that we could also use it for one of the Commission's handbooks." He suggested that perhaps Strong"could abridge it in some way so that it could be used for a text book and sold for fifty cents. There is need for just such a book as that." Letter in the E. Strong Collection. See also letter in E. Strong Collection by Eugene R. Hendrix, first president of the Federal Council of Churches, to Strong, July 19, 1913, also praising the book; Our Country, 195; Gos. of K., 9:1 (Oct.'16), editorial by James H. Ecob.

Strong's belief in an interdependent world society was inherent in his idea of the Kingdom. He held that the Kingdom preached by Jesus was an ideal society to be realized in this life and was to be a world-wide society based on the obedience of all men and all races to the universal laws of love, service and sacrifice, bringing "universal blessing, spiritual and temporal."[48] This belief in Jesus' message of the Kingdom as an ideal world, Strong declared, led naturally to a world-view of life, an internationalism. He said:

> When the kingdom of God becomes the first object of daily and hourly endeavor, the whole world comes into view. Our thoughts, our desires, our hopes, our endeavors are enlarged to include all races, all nations and all future generations. . . . We become interested in all that ministers to the progress of civilization. Whatever concerns humanity concerns us. . . . As an organized society, the kingdom is a whole, and every part serves every other part. Thus the movements of civilization on the other side of the globe--things great and small, the Suez Canal and the toil of a peasant--touch us and interest us, because as citizens of the kingdom we have a proprietary right in the whole.[49]

Strong wrote that the world-life and world ideal of the Kingdom message were fast being prepared for by the tendency toward unity both in the physical and intellectual world. The industrial and commercial developments since 1870 had increased the economic interdependence of nations. Strong always maintained that the way in which peoples gained their livelihood was the chief determinant of their civilization; and, thus the reorganization of industry and the new methods of communication and transportation in the last half of the nineteenth century introduced "a radically new type of civilization because it creates radically new conditions of life."[50] Strong stated that the world had already entered on the organization of a world-industry "which means the ultimate organization of a world-society, a profound modification of the environment of all peoples, and the harmonizing influences of a world-life."[51] The industrial and economic disturbances, since 1870, he called "growing pains" naturally attendant on

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[48] Josiah Strong, "What the Kingdom Is," Gos. of K., 2:1-2 (Jan.'10).

[49] Next Great Awakening, 113; see also New Era, 352, World Religion, 503, 323.

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50. Expansion, 137, 218-223, preface. The reviews of this volume in the Review of Reviews, 22:634 (Nov.'00), in the Outlook, 66:420 (Oct.'00) in the Mail and Express, the Topeka Capital and S.S., 2:back cover (Nov.'00), all recognized that Strong's message was a call to the United States not only to accept its world position in behalf of the Christian civilization but also its new world duties. Reviews in the Churchman and Public Opinion viewed the volume more as an expansionist treatise. Public Opinion declared: "The book is one of the strongest statements of the expansion doctrine we have seen. It will convince many because it clings to ideals, while keeping an eye on cold facts," S.S., 2:back cover (Nov.'00); see also Times and Men, 28, 193-5; Religious Movements, 9, 19, 41; World-Life, 15, 88, 91.

51. World-Life, 15; see also Times and Men, 34-5, 50; Our Country, 69; New Era, 144-5, 342-5, 347; Expansion, preface; 20C City, 131-2; World-Life, 92, 39; World-Religion, 507-8; see also Josiah Strong, "The Increasing Oneness of the World," Gos. of K., 1:17 (Dec.'08) and "A New World Tendency," 7:1-4 (Jan.'03); see also James H. Ecob, "Strong and the War," Gos. of K., 10:106 (April'18).

the process by which the nations adjust themselves to closer relations and new conditions in the world's progress. He declared that the social disturbances would continue until "a complete co-ordination of the world's industries" was achieved. This, in his opinion, would "be effected slowly," since it would require many years for nations to gain a full consciousness of a world-life. Yet by 1913, he could write that the United States had come to see that the prosperity of other nations was favorable to its own.[52]

Science also, through its continual revelation of the laws of life, was showing the means for the improvement of the race, the physical and spiritual perfection of which was necessary for the full coming of the Kingdom. The Kingdom ideal afforded the needed synthesis of the varied facts and forces which had entered man's life with the industrial revolution, and if man did not accept a new world-view as a result of the Kingdom philosophy, such a view, nevertheless, would be forced upon him by new world conditions. Strong wrote in 1893 that "God in his providence is making human relations so intimate and complex that they will become simply intolerable unless they are right relations, adjusted in harmony with the laws of the Kingdom of God. Our close relations with the ignorant, the degraded, the vicious, which it is impossible to escape, are forcing us to do them good in self-defence."[53] Strong concluded that soon it would become impossible by the very progress of civilization for good men to live in peace and comfort unless all other men also were "good and respectable and comfortable," and he hoped that God would hasten that day! Strong believed that world interdependence required the use of a world police force to preserve world order. Holding such strong views on a world-life, he believed that a world federation would eventually evolve as had the United States, "as the best insurance against interstate strife and the surest guarantee of a permanent international peace."[54] The interdependence of all classes, races and nations would become so great in the new world-life which he saw taking shape that it would be impossible to perfect the character or condition of any one class or people until all were perfected. In 1917, Dr. James H. Ecob, associate of Strong in the Institute, wrote that Strong "with his prophetic reach of vision, had seen this process of world unification through interdependence long before the wisdom of mere politics had gotten its eyes open."[55]

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[52] World-Life, 185, 92; see also New Era, 144-5.

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53. New Era, 345.

54. New York Times, June 14, 1915, 8/5; see also World-Life, 44, 47, 85, 50; New Era, 345, 352; 20C City, 119; see particularly Josiah Strong, "After the War, What?" Gos. of K., 7:11-16 (Jan.'15), and "Federation," 7:81-2 (June'15).

55. Gos. of K., 9:97 (March'17), editorial by Ecob, "Interdependence and Internationalism."

The Kingdom philosophy taught and the new world economic conditions demanded a new world outlook. Although new conditions were creating a situation in which enlightened self-interest would indeed prompt a world conscience, Strong believed that a higher and nobler bond--love of mankind expressed in terms of service and sacrifice--was needed to unite the world. Just as he had stressed the development in individual citizens of a social conscience aware of social duties as a solution for national problems, so, too, Strong urged the development on the part of nations of a world-conscience with an emphasis on world duties rather than rights as the means of coping with the new world-life. The individualistic interpretation of the Gospel as of the functions of the state had become outmoded with the new collective society, and the individualistic conception of international relations--political isolation--were no more possible in the new world society than geographic and economic isolation. Strong placed great hope in the impossibility of maintaining isolation--economic, political, geographic--because with the disappearance of isolation would also vanish ignorance, "the prolific mother of misunderstandings and prejudices, social, national, political and religious."[56]

The development and acceptance of world-duties, Strong asserted, had particular importance for the United States. The United States was to play a leading role in the development of the world-life of the twentieth century. Both the nation and the church must, therefore, accept this greatness and leadership as a divine trust.[57] "Our Country" was significant to Strong solely because of the place it held in the ever-progressing movement of civilization to the fulfillment of God's will on earth--the Kingdom. By virtue of the fact that the two threads of all historic evolution--individualism and organization--had reached the highest development in the institutions of the United States, as manifest in its democracy and spiritual Christianity, Strong firmly believed that the United States was the nation chosen by God to lead the world to a realization of the Kingdom.

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[56] Strong, "A New World Tendency," S.S., 7:3 (Jan.'03). See also New Era, 16, 315; Expansion, 255-7, 251, 247; Ecob, "Strong and the War," Gos. of K., 10:106 (April '16).

In the period from 1885 to 1890, Strong sought to arouse the United States to leadership by appealing to the belief that the Anglo-Saxon race and civilization as then found in the United States were divinely prepared for bringing the Kingdom. After 1900 he sought to arouse the nation and the church to world leadership no longer particularly emphasizing race but now appealing to the need for conscious effort to hasten the coming of the Kingdom. He stressed that the United States was especially fitted for this task because of its industrial and scientific progress together with its social Christianity which were necessary for the physical and spiritual perfection of all mankind.[58] Contrary to the popular interpretation of Strong as an apologist for imperialism--which so frequently appears in college textbooks--Strong's reference to the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race and civilization, he repeatedly cautioned, did not mean the right of domination over other peoples. He made it clear that the providential importance of the United States in furthering the new world society did not mean that "an Anglo-Saxon is any dearer to God than a Mongolian or an African. My plea is not Save America for America's sake, but, Save America for the world's sake."[59] America's position was one of opportunity for world service, which must be kindled with Christian enthusiasm based on "a profound conviction of the worth of every human being, a profound conviction of human need, a profound conviction of the saving power of

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[57] Our Country, 218, 222; New Era, 79-80; Expansion, 302.

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58. New Era, 81, 54-71, 354; Our Country, 218, 222, 182, 159, 161, 167-8, 174, 165. Strong stated that he first expressed ideas on the superiority of Anglo-Saxon civilization in lectures in 1882, see Our Country, 159; Expansion, 39, 202, 208, 213.

59. New Era, 80; Our Country, vii, 218. For the popular interpretation of Strong as an imperialist found in college textbooks see Leland D. Baldwin, The Stream of American History (New York, 1952), II, 312-13; Merle Curti, The Growth of American Thought (New York, second edition, 1943), 670-1; Henry Bamford Parkes, The United States of America. A History (New York, 1953), 490; David Spitz, Patterns of Anti-Democratic Thought (New York, 1949), 139; Harvey Wish, Society and Thought in Modern America. A Social and Intellectual History of the American People from 1865 (New York, 1952), II, 389-90.

Jesus Christ and his truth."[60]

Strong sought to teach Americans that they must recognize the value of the basic differences between various races, for those differences supplemented and served one another.[61] Uniformity of all mankind as a single racial type was not desirable even if it were possible because differentiation of the human family was an expression of divine purpose. Strong asked, "Why should there be an endless variety in every species below man, whether vegetable or animal, and only one kind of man? The conception is in conflict with the whole plan of creation. The law of the universe itself is 'One from Many' . . . not the oneness of identity . . . but the oneness of coördination; not unison but harmony."[62] Strong wrote that the hostility in the United States to Asiatics was excited "by an unreasoning race prejudice" strengthened by economic conditions. He wrote that those racial differences, which were the principal sources from which race prejudice sprang, were "perhaps none of them inherent" (customs, habit, ethical standards, religious beliefs, standard of living) but came from the environment which in the future would be more

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60. New Era, 354-5.

61. World-Life, 17, 38; New Era, 77-8; Strong, "The Increasing Oneness of the World," Gos. of K., 1:17 (Dec.'08) and "After The War, What?" Gos. of K., 7:11-16 (Jan.'15).

62. World-Life, 174, 39, 75.

and more modified especially when the industrial revolution encompassed the earth. In time the superficial differences would be removed and the essential differences, in large measure complemental, would, when coordinated, "contribute much to the perfecting of civilization."[63] Acquaintance with other races would banish suspicion, he said, for "When we get near enough to a man to see in him the likeness of Christ, whether he be white or black, red or yellow, we must needs love him."[64]

In a figure of speech contrary to the concept of the "melting pot" as it was currently employed in describing American society, Strong made reference to the different races in the world as various instruments fashioned for a world orchestra. "All history has been filled with their discords while in the making," he wrote. "But now the work of harmonizing is well begun, and the time will surely come when they will be attuned to heaven's keynote of brotherly love."[65]

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63. Josiah Strong, "The Race Question," Gos. of K., 1:81-2 (Aug.'09).

64. New Era, 315; Strong, "The Increasing Oneness of the World," Gos. of K., 1:17 (Dec,'08).

65. Strong, "The Increasing Oneness of the World," Gos. of K., 1:17 (Dec.'08) and "A New World Tendency," Gos. of K., 7:4 (Jan.'03). In his address before the Social Center Association, Strong declared that the United States was "the great laboratory" where the problem of the relation of races to each other must be solved. He added that the problem must be solved before the Kingdom could come on earth and "before America can be realized." See Strong, "The Social Center Movement," Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin. Serial No. 465. General Series No. 302, 9.

In 1900 while urging the United States to assume its world position, he cautioned:

> This race has been honored not for its own sake, but for the sake of the world. It has been made powerful, and rich, and free, and exalted--powerful, not to make subject, but to serve; rich, not to make greater gains, but to know the greater blessedness; free, not simply to exult in freedom, but to make free; exalted, not to look down, but to lift up.[66]

The nation's new world position meant, above all else, new world duties which should be assumed joyfully for the glory of God and the coming of His Kingdom. This point of view is hardly consonant with the traditional interpretation put upon Strong's ideas regarding the relations of the United States with the rest of the world.

In Strong's opinion, world developments in the late nineteenth century had made inevitable the United States' entry into world politics in 1898. He contended that while the anti-expansionists were sincere in opposing the retention of the Philippines, they had ignored the prevailing tendencies of the new world-life.[67] Strong called the Spanish-American War the discharge of the United States' police duty to the world.[68] He maintained that even if the Spanish American War had not been waged and acquisitions never had been made, expansion of the United States would have been a natural and inevitable result of the exhaustion of arable lands, of the need of new markets and of the manufacturing supremacy of the United States. Strong argued that the Philippines had to be retained because of "our duty to the world in general and to the Philippines in particular" and in addition for strategic reasons for the race, humanity and civilization.[69] Strong saw it as an act of providence that the United States had become an Asiatic power in the very generation when the Pacific was to become decisive of the world's destinies.[70]

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[66] Expansion, 213; see also Julius W. Pratt, Expansionists of 1898 The Acquisition of Hawaii and The Spanish Islands (Baltimore, 1936), 5-6. Pratt wrote that "The extinction of the weaker races before the all-conquering Anglo-Saxon might appear sad to some, but to Mr. Strong it seemed almost inevitable."

[67] Expansion, 19, 260, 294.

The Pacific area was so vitally important for the world's future because it was to be the scene of the inevitable clash of two civilizations representing principles diametrically opposed--absolutism and democracy--a final death struggle between the Slav and the Anglo-Saxon, between Russia and the United States.[71] It was for this reason that Strong urged the United States to bring Western civilization to Asia and help it cope with the industrial revolution. In that way, a foothold for Western civilization would be maintained in the Pacific area. If Russia gained control of Asia,it would remain Asiatic for centuries to come. In his opinion, the Pacific was to become the "New Mediterranean" of the twentieth century, the center of the world's population and the seat of its power. In view of this inevitability, Strong raised as the vital question of 1900 "Is the Anglo-Saxon or the Slav to command the Pacific and therefore the world's future?"[72] Addressing the students of Packard Commercial School in New York City on "The New Problems Confronting the New Century," in February,1900, Strong declared that while it was the duty of the Anglo-Saxon race to prevent the domination of the Slav as the great world power, he would prefer to see the United States and England unite to prevent rather than to wage future war.[73] Although he criticized Russia, Strong sought to improve her civilization as well as that of the rest of the world, including the United States. Social Service, which had St. Petersburg as well as Moscow on its mailing list, contained many articles urging social and industrial betterment in Russia. The issue for May, 1904, was devoted entirely to Russia.[74]

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[68] *Expansion*, 282, 279, 275, see also *Times and Men*, 169-70.

[69] *Expansion*, 287, 294-6, 289, 200-7, 279, 259.

[70] For Strong's views on Providence and the Philippines see *Expansion*, 17-19, 207-12; for Strong's views on the importance of the Pacific see *Expansion*, 163-184 and *World-Life*, 234-5.

[71] *Expansion*, 202-3, for Strong's views on Russia see 192-3, 183; see also *New Era*, 75.

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[72] Expansion, 194.

[73] New York Tribune, Feb. 3, 1900, 7/5.

[74] S.S., 3:180 (June'01); 5:16 (April'02), 137-40 (May'02); 9 (May'04).

Strong was so concerned with the growing antagonism between East and West that in 1900 he expressed his intention of writing a book devoted entirely to the question of whether world politics would be dominated by the Anglo-Saxon or the Slav.[75] By 1909 Strong had been invited to organize institutes in Russia, China and Japan and, during the winter of 1909-1910, one had been organized in Australia.[76]

Strong was aware of the importance of the Caribbean area and the projected isthmian canal as the gateway to the Pacific. In 1900, he endorsed the acquisition of possessions "in the Caribbean Sea, provided only they come to us . . . by righteous means."[77] He nevertheless believed that the pledge of the United States to recognize the sovereignty of Cuba was a sacred one, though its fulfillment would be incomprehensible to the world. He believed that American troops should be removed from Cuba, as soon as circumstances allowed, for Cuba should be bound to the United States "only be the strongest bonds--those of obligation and love."[78] Years before, he had warned that those parts of Britain's empire which she held by force, she would lose by force. Now he repeated his warning that the colonial history of Spain, Holland, and England demonstrated "the folly of selfishness" for "the more selfish the policy, the more complete its failure." He maintained that if the United States repeated the blunders of these nations, it would be "more culpable than they."[79] And as for the Philippines, they must be held "as a trust for civilization," for, he emphasized, "We want no tribute-bearing colonies."[80] In 1905 Strong sent a letter to President Roosevelt calling his attention to the new social problems which were sure to arise in the Islands with the introduction of Western civilization and placing at his disposal the resources of the Institute for the service of officials charged with the administration of affairs there. Roosevelt expressed his hearty approval and appreciation, referring Strong's letter to Taft, who was then Secretary of War. Taft wrote Strong in December, 1905, that the services of the Institute would be called to the attention of the governor-general and commissioner of the Islands.[81]

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[75] Expansion, 186.

[76] Amer. Institute of Soc. Ser. What It Is. What It Has., 16; Gos. of K., 2:57 (May'10).

[77] Strong cited Mahan on the importance of the Caribbean, see Expansion, 161, see also 149.

[78] Expansion, 162, 161.

The acquisition of overseas "possessions" was in line with the nation's destiny to assume responsibility in the world. He reminded the anti-expansionists that since the opposition to

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[79] New Era, 68; Expansion, 295-6.

[80] Expansion, 295.

[81] S.S., 2:4 (Jan.'06); Expansion, 295.

Jefferson's purchase of Louisiana, men had blindly quarrelled with national destiny and divine providence. But Louisiana, Florida, Texas, California, Alaska, Hawaii and the Philippines had nevertheless come into the hands of the United States. "If there is no God in such history, there is no God anywhere," he concluded. In Strong's opinion, McKinley was a Christian politician and statesman who, as he believed future historians would recognize, had safely guided the United States through "the crisis of expansion."[82]

Strong's views on expansion as expressed in Our Country, The New Era and Expansion Under New World-Conditions, were, indeed, a synthesis of the concepts of Anglo-Saxon superiority and America's moral mission which had found expression in America since the period of the Mexican War.[83] However, in his use of these themes the concepts sprang not from the desire to arouse in the United States an interest in acquiring more land and power or a desire to justify expansion already undertaken, but rather from his belief in and desire for the eventual realization of a world Kingdom. He was conscious, to be sure, that the exhaustion of arable land in the American West would mean that energy and money that had gone into pioneering would be used in the future in developing overseas areas, particularly "southward toward the tropics, where the unoccupied lands of the world are." Nevertheless, his interest in expansion did not stem, as one historian has asserted, from concern over the close of the West and the need of new areas for settlement "to avoid the troubles coming from too great concentration of population."[84] His ideas on expansion when viewed in the context of his Kingdom philosophy--the thread, Strong admitted, which gave his entire philosophy and life meaning--were not a call to aggressive, forceful action to gain world empire, but a call to recognize and assume the responsibility to spread the Gospel and Western civilization in the interest of the Kingdom. Such a responsibility was seen to involve the activity of Christian missionaries and Christian business men abroad and even the supervision or even acquisition, in specific emergencies, of areas whose instability threatened the security and mission of Western civilization. Above all else, he insisted that this new responsibility, vital to the

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[82] Expansion, 213, 160; S.S., 4:97-8 (Oct.'01); Times and Men, 145. Men who were anti-imperialists and yet who cooperated with Strong in his social gospel work were Robert F. Cutting, Charles H. Parkhurst, David S. Jordan and Andrew Carnegie. See S.S., 7:67 (March'03) and 8: inside cover (July'03) and also Report of the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Anti-Imperialist League, November 25, 1905 And Its Adjournment, November 27 (Boston, 1905), 20 and Report of the Twelfth Annual Meeting of the Anti-Imperialist League, November 26, 1910 (Boston, 1910), 47.

[83] Curti, The Growth of American Thought, 670-2; Gabriel, American Democratic Thought, chapter 26.

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84. For Strong's address before the Patria Club, New York City, on "Expansion Under New World Conditions," see New York Tribune, Jan. 12, 1901, 16/1; see also Expansion, 42, 19, 31 and Robert E. Riegel, "Current Ideas of the Significance of the United States Frontier," Revista de Historia de América, No. 33:27 (June, 1952).

achievement of the Kingdom, had to be infused with the spirit of the Kingdom--the ideas of service, sacrifice, love--which knew no differences of race or nationality. To this end Strong recognized the need of sending high minded Christian business men to foreign lands. His plans for the Institute to train business men in Christian social principles, inaugurated in 1915, were an implementation of this ideal.[85]

Strong pointed out that the new world-life demanded new world-ethical standards in harmony with Christian ethics. He appealed to the United States to lay the foundations for the new standards of international politics. In 1901 he wrote in Social Service:

> Now that America is entering into world politics, unbound by habit and untrammeled by precedent in such relations, we may and should set for ourselves a new standard of national obligation which shall be consonant with the individual conscience and shall not outrage Christian ethics.[86]

The new world-life was something higher than national life, and world good, therefore, was something higher than national good. In Strong's opinion the new world-life demanded an enlightened world conscience, "an enthusiasm for humanity," which sacrificed national interests to world interests. Such a world conscience would mean a new world policy for nations, dedicated not to national aggrandizement, but to the "noblest ministry to the new world life."[87] Strong saw much to criticize in the imperialism of the past. The Anglo-Saxon race itself, he wrote in 1893, "will have to answer for many sins against weaker races and against the weaker of their own race."[88]

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[85] Josiah Strong, "A Young American. Another American Invasion--This Time of India at Vellore," S.S., 5: 22-3 (Aug.'02). In this article, Strong praised an American missionary for spreading American ideas in India.

[86] S.S., 3:160 (May'01). In a review of Gustav Ruemelin, Politics and the Moral Law, Strong rejected the author's view which denied that individual moral law applied to public affairs.

He asserted that the Christian nations had a long history to live down in their treatment of Chinese, Africans, in fact, in their relations with all colored races and with all non-Christian peoples. He criticized the United States for ignoring "the providential significance of thousands of Chinese and millions of negroes in our midst." Had the United States in the past possessed a Christian enthusiasm for mankind, it would have prepared these peoples to go as missionaries to their native lands. Instead, he wrote, the nation was "debauching Africa with our New England rum, and outraging China by our brutal legislation."[89] He rebuked the European nations for having plundered China for two hundred years and for contending that divine providence authorized their rule of Asia as part of the "white man's burden." Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War was "the victory of every dark race in the world," he insisted,"for the white man had bullied them all."[90] Even before 1900, Strong warned the United States that its international life must be guided by the law of service and not motivated by greed as had been the case with other nations in the past. It was to carry its institutions, which themselves must be Christianized, to the rest of the world alone in the interest of the Kingdom. This was the only justification of its world position; hence its motives and methods must be unselfish.[91] Strong specifically rejected what he called the Machiavellian philosophy that the state was the highest good--to be preserved at all costs by all necessary means, good and bad. Rather it was the duty of the United States, as the industrial revolution spread throughout the world, to draw upon its own experience to forestall preventable evils in areas where the industrial revolution was just beginning.[92] Since it would be necessary for the United States and Europe to furnish the capital for developing

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[87] Expansion, 263, 272-3.

[88] New Era, 55; World-Life, 512.

[89] New Era, 355-7; Expansion, 295-9; see also Strong's Introduction to an article by Prince Momolu Marsaquoi of Ghendimah, "Africa's Appeal to Christendom," Century Magazine, 69:927-8 (April'05).

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90. World-Life, 160.

91. New Era, 354-5; Our Country, 179; Expansion, 261-3, 295.

92. S.S., 8:93 (Dec.'03), Strong's "Inaugural"; 1:1-2 (Oct.'08), Strong, editorial.

the natural resources in other areas of the world, not only international power but a great opportunity for good would be given to private individuals. He cautioned that such investors must be high-minded men, aware of their responsibility. With reference specifically to South America, he asserted that harm both to individuals and to international relations would ensue if, by conscienceless greed, wealth produced in a country was drained away for further enrichment of the United States.[93]

Strong's desire to see the United States a world power did not spring from a nationalism--aggressive, materialistic, imperialistic in its desire for wealth and world power, but rather from a new internationalism--vital with a sense of world-duty, world-service, world-mission to bring all peoples the material progress and Christian faith of Western civilization.[94] As the nation and the church had been slow to grasp by 1915 the meaning and urgency of his call for the new civic patriotism and the new evangelism, so, too, they did not heed his call for the new internationalism. And, characteristically, Strong laid the blame in considerable measure at the door of the church. In 1915, perhaps troubled by the conduct of the

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[93] World-Life, 138-9, 133. Strong mentioned the danger of the control of power companies in South America by foreign capitalists who might be "unscrupulous."

[94] Ecob, "Strong and the War," Gos. of K., 10:106 (Aug.'18).

United States since 1900 as a world power, he rebuked the individualistic church which he charged

> has not simply excused national selfishness, but has elevated it to the rank of a virtue and baptized it "patriotism." In this sacred name Might has written its own decalogue . . . and each "Christian" nation asks the divine blessing and coöperation as it undertakes its errand of slaughter and plunder.[95]

Selfish imperialism and war, sins against Christianity, had all been committed, Strong protested, "without the rebuke, and even with the blessing, of the individualistic church, and with an untroubled individualistic Christian conscience." He declared that Jesus had been crucified in the name of Christ.[96] If the church as the disciple of Christ was to give the Gospel to the world, it had to live it before all the world. The church in its contact with non-Christian lands had brought Christian truth, but not Christian spirit, without which the truth was powerless and dead. He admonished the church:

> In serving humanity there are no side glances at personal interest. Surely to love millions on the other side of the globe and millions yet unborn must be disinterested. The love of humanity, therefore, is the best possible test of unselfishness.
> ....
> And yet there are many in the church who despise and hate a large proportion of humanity--whole races, indeed.[97]

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[95] World-Religion, 511.

[96] Ibid.

[97] World-Religion, 498-499, 503; Gos. of K., 1:2 (Oct.'08).

In Strong's opinion the social gospel was the faith needed not only to solve the problems of individuals, but those of the world. It could transform the life of the world as well as that of the individual, because world problems like those of individuals and nations also sprang from human selfishness.[98] Social Christianity was the absolute and final religion, and it was destined to be the world-religion. It was "not only capable of saving every individual soul in the world, but capable of saving the world itself--the only religion capable of solving the world's problems, of establishing and maintaining a world peace, and of transforming the world life until its kingdoms become the kingdom of our God."[99] Social Christianity not only recognized the new world ideal after which men were groping, but defined, illuminated, and glorified it. It laid down world principles by which alone the great world problems could be solved and the new world ideal realized. "Asia will soon become Christian or agnostic," he wrote in 1908. "The peoples of the East will not accept a new religion which does not solve their new problems."[100] The church was on trial in the new world order, and if it did not grasp the world-significance of Jesus' teachings and apply his

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98. World-Religion, 506.

99. Gos. of K., 1:1-2 (Oct.'08), editorial by Strong; see also World-Religion, 8, 366, 387, 503, ix, 467; New Era, 240, 256.

100. Gos. of K., 1:1-2 (Oct.'08), editorial by Strong; New Era, 13.

principles to world salvation, it could not hope to survive! Strong could readily understand why Mohammedan and pagan nations did not believe Christian nations were actuated by the spirit of disinterested love. "The points of contact between the Christian world and the Mohammedan and pagan worlds have been war, diplomacy, and commerce; and disinterested love is not the actuating motive of armies, governments, or traders."[101] Strong was so concerned over the position of the United States as a new world power that he intended his fourth volume of the Our World series to be a discussion of the special relations which the United States sustained to Europe, South America, Africa and Asia, "together with certain practical measures demanded by the world-crisis which we are entering."[102]

As on the national level, so in these world developments, it was the problem of the city, in Strong's opinion, which brought the social crisis into focus. As the industrial revolution encompassed the earth, it would bring with it the opportunities and perils of the twentieth-century city. "The numberless new problems of the new industrial civilization are concentrated in the general problem of the city," he wrote. The city, therefore, was "the supreme problem of the world's

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101. World-Religion, 511.

102. World-Life, ix.

future."[103] Strong was particularly concerned about the vast and rapid changes which the introduction of Western civilization would make in Asia. He believed that the movement of population to the cities attending the industrial revolution would mean "the disintegration of social and religious institutions which had been rigid for thousands of years." This presented both an opportunity and a peril. Strong hoped to write a book discussing the effects of Western civilization on the social, intellectual and spiritual life of China and the resulting disturbance of the political balance in the world.[104] Though this plan never materialized, in all his writings he stressed the great importance of the birth and development of the "thousands of cities" that would take place in Asia in the twentieth century.[105] If the United States and the church could guide the development of "the unborn cities of Asia" they could have a significant part in the "Godlike work of shaping the world."[106] He urged the nations of the West to recognize the significance of the beginnings of this change in Asia, to seize the then-present opportunity of laying the foundations of the twentieth-century city in Asia. He wrote:

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[103] Strong, Our Opportunity in the City, 23, in E. Strong Collection.

[104] Expansion, 124; New Era, 13; Challenge of City, 84; World-Life, 271-4; World-Religion, 212.

[105] Times and Men, 35; Challenge of City, 84-5; World-Life, 271; Strong, "The City and the New Civilization," Gos. of K., 1:34 (Feb.'09).

[106] Times and Men, 35.

> This process of world development and transformation will not be completed during this century any more than the development of our great West was completed during the nineteenth century. But settlement and the demands of commerce, manufactures, and mining fixed the new centres of population and shaped beginnings which will mould the future. What the nineteenth century was to the undeveloped regions of the United States, the twentieth century will be to the undeveloped countries of the earth.[107]

Strong not only advocated the assumption of world responsibility on the part of nations, but he proposed methods by which to make easier the adaptation of institutions to the new collective industrial society and to guide these institutions by correct principles, that is, by social Christianity.

This, basically, involved his customary policy of guiding action through information. From the very beginning, both the League for Social Service and the American Institute of Social Service had a deep concern for and an awareness of world developments and the need for an international exchange of information concerning social and industrial betterment. Strong emphasized the fact that the fundamental principle guiding the League, "to make the experience of each available for the instruction of all," was applicable alike to individuals, corporations, churches, cities, states and nations.[108] Foreign

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107. World-Life, 273-4.

108. S.S., 8:92 (Dec.'03), Strong's "Inaugural"; S.S., 9:inside front cover (May'04).

experts on sociological subjects were associated with the League, special displays on world progress were part of the League's exhibits at various world expositions, and by 1903 a special department on International Relations had been created.[109] The year-book Social Progress had been made an international year-book in 1906. In numerous cities in areas where the industrial revolution was just being introduced, the services of the League and later of the Institute were made available. Among these were St. Petersburg, Moscow, Constantinople, Budapest, Buenos Aires, Valparáiso and Melbourne. Additional countries served were Siam, Palestine, South Africa, the Canary Islands, New Zealand, China and Japan.[110]

In addition to the world-wide services of the Institute, Strong hoped to see a chain of institutes established around the world. He repeatedly stated that no nation was sufficient unto itself; for each civilization had something to teach every other and every people had something to learn from every other.[111] Strong spent the winter of 1909 visiting the capital

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109. S.S., 6:18 (Dec.'02); 10:11 (July'04).

110. Amer. Institute of Soc. Ser. What It Is. What It Has., 16; S.S., 10:11-12 (July'04); 12:10 (March'06); see also Social Progress, 1906, 288; see the statement made by Gabriel that the plea of Rauschenbusch was "the only American plea for a social gospel that was heard across the Atlantic." Gabriel, American Democratic Thought, 326.

111. Amer. Institute of Soc. Ser. What It Is. What It Has., 18-19; S.S., 8:93 (Dec.'03), Strong's "Inaugural."

cities of Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina and Chile, "with the purpose of planting Institutes of Social Service in that great continent, that, even from its awakening into industrial life, it might have the benefit and knowledge of the experience of other countries."[112] Strong received hearty approval of his plan in Rio de Janeiro, Montevideo and Santiago, but the idea, he reported, was too new in these cities to warrant setting up definite plans of organization while he was there. In Buenos Aires, which he referred to in 1910 as "the most important city on the continent of South America," an organization was set up during his visit to that city.[113]

A problem recognized in Buenos Aires illustrates Strong's hope of forestalling evils that had developed where industrialism was older. He warned that unless something were done immediately the tenement house in its worst forms would develop in that city. While the tenement house of New York and other large American cities had been "a blunder," if it were permitted to develop in South America and in Asia, he charged, it would be "a crime." The tenement house was one of the many evils which was easier to prevent than to cure after "many millions of dollars have become interested in perpetuating

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112. Gos. of K., 2:57-8 (May'10), editorial by Strong. Strong went to South America as the guest of James Dangerfield of London.

113. Gos. of K., 2:25-6 (March'10), 41-2 (April'10), 73-4 (June'10).

them."[114] By the time of his death in 1916, institutes modeled on that in the United States had been established in England, Sweden, Denmark, Italy, Belgium, Spain, Germany, Australia, Russia, and Argentina. Strong had also been invited to organize institutes in Turkey, South Africa, India, China and Japan.[115] Strong was praised in 1903 by a founder of the British Institute as "the President of the whole of this great movement, which is world wide."[116] Strong believed that an institute in each of the leading nations of the world would be a point of contact between nations which could have the result of "levelling international barriers, cultivating peace, and hastening the final organization of the world into the Kingdom of God."[117] He also insisted that such institutes would "enable the coming cities of . . . other lands to profit by the experience of Europe and America, thus avoiding our blunders and imitating our successes."[118]

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[114] Gos. of K., 2:58 (May'10).

[115] Amer. Institute of Soc. Ser. What It Is. What It Has., 16; Gos. of K., 2:57 (May'10); Ecob, "Strong and the War," 10:106 (April'18); Social Progress, 1906, 288; S.S., 13:36-9 (Nov.-Dec.'06); 9:31 (Feb. '04).

[116] S.S., 8:99, 95 (Dec.'03), letter from J. B. Patton to Tolman, Nottingham, England, Oct. 26, 1903, and from President Theodore Roosevelt to Institute, Nov. 10, 1903.

[117] S.S., 11:13 (Jan.'05), editorial; Amer. Institute of Soc. Ser. What It Is. What It Has., 16.

[118] Gos. of K., 2:58 (May'10), editorial by Strong.

Firmly believing that ignorance had always been the mother of antagonisms between peoples and nations, Strong further advocated the establishment, by "Mr. Carnegie or any other multi-millionaire who is far-sighted enough and great hearted enough" to grasp the opportunity, of international scholarships for the education of foreign youth in the United States, much on the order of the Rhodes scholarships, the establishment of which he was praising. Such scholarships would be a means of banishing any distorted views foreigners had of American civilization. Return to the student's native land was to be made a condition of the scholarship thus preventing the defeat of the object of the plan by the student's remaining in the United States.[119]

Strong was very much aware that the investment of American capital overseas and the resulting sending of American business men and technicians to the yet undeveloped nations had possibilities either of great good or great evil.[120] In 1910, he outlined what he called "A New Lay Missionary Movement" which, in essence, proposed that corporations developing resources at that time particularly in South America should use the services of young men selected with reference to their Christian character as well as their scientific or business training. Such young men would be well equipped for social service and able to help solve rising social problems. Strong maintained that such a program was not a dream, but was easily capable of realization. He suggested that the YMCA might be made a point of contact between such supply and demand.[121] Strong believed his plan offered a method whereby America and Europe might seize "an opportunity of the ages" through the demand for their citizens as the industrial revolution spread round the world. This opportunity, however, would not last indefinitely, but only during the period of "world transition" in which the old order would give way to the new. Strong declared:

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[119] Josiah Strong, "International Scholarships," S.S., 5:155-6 (June'02); for Strong's views on isolation and ignorance see World-Life, 13, 8, 21.

[120] World-Life, 133, 138.

> The people and their institutions will be plastic; and the men who will come to build railways, and open mines, and set up electric plants, and organize industries will impress themselves on the moral character of these awakening peoples well-nigh as deeply as on their material civilization. Shall that stamp be Christian or antichristian? These men will be far more numerous than the missionaries; shall their character and lives mightily re-enforce the Christian evangel or belie it, and go far to neutralize it?[122]

Strong's interest in his "lay missionary movement" continued as missionaries themselves in the foreign field urged Strong and the Institute to undertake a work supplementing Christian missions in oriental countries where industrial and

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121. Josiah Strong, "The Future of South America," Gos. of K., 2:89-90 (July'10).

122. Gos. of K., 2:106 (Aug.'10).

social problems were becoming acute.[123] In the fall of 1915, the American Institute of Social Service was reorganized with the very purpose of enlarging its scope and services--"an extension of our work that has long been contemplated"--to meet the new problems created by the rapid spread of the "new civilization" in Asia and South America. Strong wrote that the financial plight of the Institute would seem to demand curtailment of services rather than extension. For seventeen years, he said, the Institute had followed the policy of deferring the organization of contemplated departments until the requisite funds could be secured, only to find that as a result different organizations undertook lines of activity which could have been conducted more effectively and more cheaply from the same office.[124] Part of the Institute's expanded work was the creation of a Bureau of Social Service in Business Abroad. The aim of this bureau was to induce Christian business and professional young men and women to go to the newly developed areas, especially South America, and "to live their Christianity in conducting their business and in practicing their professions. It was hoped that the Institute could give them special training and actively aid them after they had reached their fields of work in "giving disinterested service to their respective communities."[125] The Institute also expected to prepare and circulate special articles in the press of foreign countries dealing with all aspects of social progress in the United States. In its special courses for training those who had volunteered to follow such a career, the Bureau was to teach languages, social customs, history, and concepts of social service. It was hoped that the Bureau could interest leading corporations and institutions in its work and in employing its trainees. The Bureau also hoped to encourage educational institutions to provide courses for students who were training for service in business abroad.

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[123] Gos. of K., 6:143 (Sept.'14).

[124] Gos. of K., 7:142-3 (Sept.'15), 186-8 (Dec.'15); see also New York Times, Oct. 15, 1915, 7/4 and Sept. 19, 1915, II, 11/1.

Josiah Strong's message to the United States, in the light of his life's philosophy and work, was not that of an expansionist, an imperialist, clothing a doctrine of power-politics "in talk of providence, duty, destiny," nor were

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125. New York Times, Sept. 19, 1915, II, 11/1; Gos. of K., 7:188 (Dec.'15); see also The American Institute of Social Service, Bureau of Social Service Abroad. Discussion, Plan of Organization and Program of Work (New York, 1916), 3, 10, 12, 13, Library of the College of the City of New York. See also The American Institute of Social Service. Reports on the Work of the American Institute of Social Service for the Year 1916-1917. Bulletin Vol. II, No. 1. New York, 1917, Published by the Authority of the National Council.

his "moral judgments . . . elaborate rationales for a blatant ethnocentrism."[126] If Strong's call to the United States to assume its world position was used by imperialists of any school at the turn of the century, it was because they misunderstood the words of this "world citizen and prophet." Strong was not an aggressive expansionist, but a true internationalist who preached the doctrine of world responsibility based on Christian brotherhood. Dr. James Ecob, who worked very closely with Strong during the last ten years of Strong's life, wrote in 1918:

> It is a matter of common knowledge that Dr. Strong was one of the foremost pioneers in arousing the nations to the necessity of a New Internationalism. This was a fundamental conception in the founding of the American Institute of Social Service, the first of its kind in the world. . . . The central and dominant idea was that through such organizations a true circulatory system of information and

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[126] Roberts, "Early Social Gospel," 159, 169, 173, 181-2; see also Gabriel, American Democratic Thought, 344. He concluded that Strong's views were a "naive" patriotism, an ethnocentrism, and that Strong's doctrine of mission was "a rationalization which provides a philosophical justification for national--and racial--pride." He also called Strong's nationalism "a blend of national and racial arrogance." See also Henry F. May, Protestant Churches and Industrial America (New York, 1949), 114. May called Strong's views "full of jingoism" and "prophetic of imperial nationalism." See also Pratt, Expansionists of 1898, 5-6, 279-80 and America's Colonial Experiment (New York, 1950). Here Pratt commented that Strong invoked "Darwinian biology and the divine will in the same breath," and he referred to the ideas of Fiske and Strong on Anglo-Saxon superiority as "half-baked ideas."

sympathy would be established among the nations and so would be laid the foundation of a new and righteous internationalism. This he called the 'Coming of the Kingdom.'[127]

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127. Ecob, "Strong and the War," Gos. of K., 10:106-7 (April'18). For similar views by men of the day who knew Strong see comments by the editor of the Homiletic Review, 71:457 (June, 1916) and the statement by Strong's colleagues at the Institute who declared "how deeply this great seer" had been thinking "in world terms," Report on the Work of the American Institute of Social Service for the Year 1916-1917, 12. The editor of the Outlook wrote of Strong as "A patriot to the heart's core, his ideal of patriotism was not devotion to our country only, but rather to our country for the world. To him our country meant our countrymen, who make it what it is, and should make it what it must become, an inspiring example of the equality of high and low in reciprocal duties, rights and opportunities." See Outlook, 113: 56 (May 10, 1916); also letter by Dr. James M. Whiton, President of the New York Conference of Religion to Doubleday Company, June 14, 1913, in which he stated that "Dr. Strong's distinction from other writers in the sociological field is his statesman-like grasp of his subject, world-formed, in all the details which show our situation as a turning point in the evolution of civilization as essentially the humanization of man, where our country has again the leading part to play not for itself only but for the world." Letter is in the E. Strong Collection. See also editorial statement in Homiletic Review, 71: 457 (June, 1916), that Strong had been preparing his volume on The New World-Life, emphasizing world-life, interdependence and duties, since he had written Our Country.

CONCLUSION

For more than thirty years Josiah Strong devoted his life to arousing the church and the nation to an awareness of the collective aspects of the new industrial society and its problems, which in his opinion, were focused in the city. He believed that the city was the supreme challenge to his generation, much as the agrarian West had been the great challenge during the nineteenth century. The problem of the city, he declared, was that of collective living; the solution of that problem would provide the solution of the social problems of the new civilization itself. Moreover, he was certain that the city would soon become a world problem as the industrial revolution encompassed the earth.

Strong's concern over the city was rooted in the conviction that Christianity and the church must overcome the problems the city presented in order that they themselves might survive. Moreover, he believed that the city had to be saved before the Kingdom could be realized. He was confident that the problem of the city was solvable, though it had not yet been solved, because the city was "to be redeemed" as surely as the Kingdom was in time to come on earth. "There is no occasion for panic," he wrote; "there is not even room for doubt as to the issue. The city is to be saved; it must be saved before the Kingdom can fully come; it therefore, can be saved."[1] He maintained that the acceptance and application of the social laws of Jesus were the means by which the salvation of the city could be accomplished; and he was certain that if the church devised new methods especially adapted to the urban environment, it could reach the masses with its saving message.

When the publication of Our Country brought Strong to national prominence, he had formulated the basic tenets of his individual and social philosophy. His beliefs concerning the meaning of the Kingdom, the social teachings of Jesus, the interdependence of the new collective society, the challenge of the city, the mission of America, the perils of socialism, the relation of wealth to the Kingdom and the functions of government remained the same throughout his career. His religious philosophy was for the most part similar to the progressive social Christianity expressed by Gladden, Ely, Commons, Mulford, Stuckenberg, Rauschenbusch and Taylor during the years 1865 to 1915.[2] It was grounded in the concepts of the immanence of

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1. New Era, 201; see also Challenge of City, 199 and Strong, Home Missions and the City of the Future, 13.

2. For a discussion of the basic concepts of the social gospel see Hopkins, Rise of the Social Gospel, 318-27 and W.A. Visser 't Hooft, The Background of the Social Gospel in America (Haarlem, 1928), 161, 39-43. For criticisms of the social gospel see J. Neal Hughley, Trends in Protestant Idealism (New York, 1948), 9, 14, 16-17, 121, 140-48. Hughley stated that his criticisms were made from the Christian socialist viewpoint. See also Robert T. Handy, "George D. Herron and the Kingdom Movement," Church History, 19:115 (June, 1950) and Visser 't Hooft, The Background of the Social Gospel, 39-40, 44, 49, 53, 181-3, 175-8.

God, the rediscovery of the historical Jesus, the law of love measured by sacrifice and expressed through service, the perfectibility of man and society, personal sin as self-will and the idea that salvation was meaningless unless socially expressed. He wrote in terms of the need of Christianizing the social order and of the possibility of the direct application of the teachings of Jesus to society; but although he found it expedient to talk in terms of crisis, he was an exponent of gradual progress rather than revolutionary change.

Strong was fully aware of the criticisms of the social interpretation of Christianity expressed during his day. He emphatically denied that the social gospel aimed at the salvation of society instead of that of the individual. He wrote that if he had to choose between the regeneration of society and the regeneration of the individual, he "would work for the regeneration of the individual as the more fundamental." However, he asked, "why not have both? Have political corruption, gambling dens, saloons, and brothels no relation to individual character?" He stated that the minister who made it his "one business" to save individual souls "neither minds his business nor understands what it is."[3] The salvation of every individual was necessary for the complete salvation of society; and the salvation of society was necessary for the complete salvation of the individual. The two were correlative.

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[3] World-Religion, 412, 414-16, 151, 121.

Although Strong's religion stressed social responsibility on the part of the church, he never believed that the church was primarily an instrument for rebuilding society. The fundamental function of the church was to bring about individual regeneration which would then find its expression in man's obedience to the Second Commandment of Jesus. It was the denial of self which was the essence of the new social spirit of the "reborn" Christian that was to find expression in service to man. A Christian, Strong believed, was a follower of Christ who, in love of God, had denied self-will and sought to do God's will through service to man. Social action never became in his thinking a good in itself, a good divorced from motive, He insisted that the motive of unselfish service to man for love of God must always be the impelling force of action. Thus he clarified his original phrase "a new patriotism" with the term "Christian" in order to emphasize the unselfishness which must underlie the invigorated civic interest which he thought essential to society. He refused to participate in the Men and Religion Forward Movement of 1912 because he believed that the movement, though it urged social service, lacked an understanding of the spirit basically needed for genuine Christian social service.[4]

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[4] Visser 't Hooft, The Background of the Social Gospel in America, 40, 49; Hopkins, Rise of the Social Gospel, 296-8; New Era, 248; Next Great Awakening, 24.

Strong challenged the critics of social Christianity who contended that faith in the plasticity of human nature and society was illusionary, visionary and over sentimental. He realized that the church had to work with the unredeemed man of the twentieth century and that the social ideal of the Kingdom was not to be completely achieved in that century or for many more to come; nevertheless, the goal of a near-perfected man and society was attainable and that view, once recognized, was in itself a force for good.[5] In answer to skeptics who denied the possibility of a fundamental change in man's selfish nature, Strong replied that to such critics this transformation seemed impossible because they themselves had never experienced unselfishness. He maintained that after a man had "died to self and risen into the new life of that kingdom," what was before impossible and inconceivable to him now became "as natural and as beautiful as the unfolding of a flower."[6] Disbelief in unselfishness, in disinterested love, was, in Strong's opinion, not merely an intellectual matter on the part of the critic, but was "made possible only by [his] selfishness."[7] Those who claimed that unselfishness was contrary to human experience and to human nature, he asserted, thereby confessed that disinterestedness was "unknown" to their experience; but fortunately, as he wrote, "One man's experience, however slight, cannot be set aside by another man's lack of experience, however great."[8] To Strong, belief in the possibility of a change in human nature through denial of self-will was essential to the Christian philosophy. "If there is no such thing as disinterestedness, then Jesus blundered, and Christianity is a failure," he asserted," for Jesus certainly taught it, and it is the object of Christianity to create it."[9] He believed that an understanding of the nature and the development of the human will held the key to the mysteries of life.

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[5] Times and Men, 231; My Religion, 57.

[6] Next Great Awakening, 142; see also World-Religion, 222, 488-9, 206, 214-17; New Era, 18; Times and Men, 149-50; 20C City, 141.

[7] World-Religion, 222.

Conscious of a latent tendency in the exponents of social Christianity to overemphasize the environment and man's capabilities in comparison with those of God, Strong repeatedly asserted that God was the center of religion and that God was ever above man. He wrote that man could never cancel his obligations to God and that though man served God "to all eternity," man could never discharge his debts "so as to stand on an even footing with him." Man, likewise, could never "purchase" his salvation but was "born" into the Kingdom by divine

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8. _Ibid_., 216.

9. _Ibid_.

love transmitted "from above."[10] He warned that though the physical must be seen "as the foundation which conditions the intellectual and spiritual superstructure," it must also be recognized that the spiritual part of man is the "noblest and most real" and "the end for which the physical exists."[11]

Although Strong envisioned the Kingdom of God as an earthly social ideal, he did not see it as the final end of man's creation. The unknown, the intangible, the unseen were, he believed, "the great realities" which "take hold of" man when his vision is clear and wide. He wrote, "The unseen realities are not only greater but seem to me more real than any other. . . . Far be it from me to obscure the eternal life in the perception of any. It is chiefly for the sake of that life that we need true views of this."[12] Man's ideals were but the expression of the boundlessness of man's own nature and destiny which were to be realized in the life after death. Any progress, any greatness, any perfection which man achieved on earth were but a promise of the infinite possibilities in heaven. A favorite sermon preached by Strong was one on immortality.[13] The text was John 14:19: "Because I live, ye

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10. Times and Men, 174, 195-7; Next Great Awakening, 40, 77, 140.

11. Religious Movements, 30-1; New Era, 18.

12. New Era, 125; see also Times and Men, 18, 218-19; World-Religion, 52-3, 110-11.

13. Manuscript sermon in E. Strong Collection. The dates and churches where the sermon was delivered are listed on the title page.

shall live also." Strong argued a belief in life after death on the basis of instinct and of God's justice, benevolence, truthfulness and wisdom. If there were no life after death, he wrote, "then our most precious hopes are vain, our noblest aspirations meaningless, our conscience false, our whole being a lie, and God t[he] author of th[e] lie. The supposition is as unreasonable as it is blasphemous." He concluded from the general truth of immortality the dignity and worth of every human being and the responsibility of living. He believed immortality meant "something more than an unending existence"; it meant "an eternal progress." He stated, "As our past however long will be forever short compared with our future, so our growth, our knowledge, our power to love, to do, to enjoy, however God-like, will always be only a beginning compared with t[he] progress yet before t[he] soul. Under t[he] tutelage of heaven each soul will at length possess more than t[he] entire sum of existing human knowledge." Strong's intense convictions and belief in immortality are evident from the number of times he delivered this sermon through the years. He preached it first in Sandusky, Ohio in June, 1878, and, thereafter, yearly until June, 1900.

Strong criticized the church for neglecting its social obligation and its mission of working for the Kingdom, yet he never abandoned hope for the awakening of the church. He stressed constantly the fact that the need of applying Christianity to the solution of the new social problems provided the church with the greatest opportunity it had had in centuries. He insisted that his criticism of the church was not prompted by "the slightest sympathy with hostile critics of the church" but by the spirit of love and by longing that it might accept social Christianity. He remained confident that the church would comprehend its mission of the Kingdom and that this understanding would then work a profound change in the church and society the world over.[14] Even while expressing his faith in the church, in 1915, he warned that beyond all reasonable doubt "the supreme crisis in the world's history" would come in the course of the next fifty years. In his opinion, with the "present ideas and present methods and present rate of growth," the church would be utterly unprepared for it. The inevitable consequences to civilization would be such as he did not dare to depict. This led him to assert:

> If the wholly unequalled need of the world and the wholly unequalled opportunity of the church are to be met, a great change must come over the church, and it must come soon. Christianity must be revitalized and empowered anew.[15]

Strong always sought to translate his ideas into action; thus he was much concerned with methods of carrying the social gospel to the people and of making it meaningful in their daily lives. He was ardent in the writing and preaching of his prophetic message and yet, as John Haynes Holmes has written, he was "statesmanlike in his ingenious devising of practical methods of action."[16] In an effort to educate public opinion, he advocated the systematic distribution of literature in the home, the establishment of social centers in schools, the establishment of municipal museums. To evangelize the city he proposed setting up institutional churches, missions and religious social settlements. He called for civic planning and scientific legislation and devised the method of "social revivals" and the profession of social secretaries and social engineers to accomplish social and industrial betterment. He sought to make effective the expression of public opinion through the "collective" church and the use of the initiative and referendum. His establishment of the American Institute of Social Service was designed as a means not only of educating public opinion but also of directing its expression. His plans did not include any specific economic or political formula precisely because he believed that the basic evil in society was not a system but human selfishness. Social ills could be erased only by a changed human will and not by the redistribution of wealth, public ownership or a new form of government.[17]

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[14] World-Religion, 169, 275, 257, 467; Challenge of City, 189; New Era, 237; 20C City, 143, 145, 150.

[15] World-Religion, 512.

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[16] John Haynes Holmes, "Josiah Strong," Dictionary of American Biography, 18:151.

[17] See criticism of the social gospel by James Dombrowski, The Early Days of Christian Socialism In America (New York, 1936), 21. Dombrowski wrote that the church itself was partly "responsible" for "giving to middle-class ethics a certain absoluteness." He gave as an example Josiah Strong whom he criticized for not having examined "the sources of great fortunes" but who taught that it was "the duty of men to have 'a great deal of money' for their capacities for money-making were given to them by God" and enhanced "the possibilities of charity." Strong's complete philosophy of Christian stewardship and "the gospel of wealth" refute Dombrowski's criticism.

Strong consistently criticized the Catholic and Mormon Churches for the implications of their organizational hierarchy, and his intensive belief in the merits of evangelical Christianity led him to advocate the conversion of Jews. At the same time he worked in many organizations with men of all faiths in an effort to achieve social betterment. He repeatedly asserted that in the field of humanitarian work there was no historic difference among faiths. His criticism of the Catholic and Mormon Churches was based on his conviction that the absolute control asserted by their hierarchy was "designed to strengthen authority, and to paralyze all independence of thought and action," making the church, therefore, irreconcilable with democracy. He believed that "the undeveloped will" was characteristic of Roman Catholic people. Indicative of his tolerance, however, was the fact that Cardinal Gibbons was elected an associate of the American Institute of Social Service in honor of his public service and interest in social betterment.[18] It was Strong's belief that Christianity was destined to be the world religion that led him to favor efforts to make converts to Christ among the Jews. Nevertheless, he had much admiration for and was a close personal friend of Rabbi Stephen S. Wise. Rabbi Wise said at the memorial services for Strong in 1916 that Strong was the only man not of the Jewish faith who had addressed his congregation.[19] Strong repeatedly asserted:

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[18] For Strong's criticism of the Catholic Church see *Our Country* (1885), 53, 54; *Our Country* (1891),5, 65-6, 70, 81-2; *World-Religion,* 203. For Strong's criticism of the Mormon Church see Strong, "*The Political Aspects of Mormonism* in *Social Service*. *Series D*. *Anti-Mormonism* and Strong, "The Mormon Menace," *Gos. of K.*, 5:113 (Aug.'13). For the honor given to Cardinal Gibbons see *S.S.,* 7:67-8 (March '03).

> When we get near enough to a man
> to see in him the likeness of Christ . . .
> we must needs love him; whatever be the
> name by which he is called, whether
> Protestant or Catholic, even though he
> refuses to fellowship with us, we must
> love him in spite of himself.[20]

The intellectual climate of the era 1870 to 1915 was reflected in the philosophical and social thought of Strong. The basic emphases of the period, namely, the theory of evolution, optimism concerning human nature and progress, faith in science and the scientific method, the study of society, a pragmatic and utilitarian outlook, nationalism and internationalism were an essential part of his thought. His confidence in

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19. New York Times, May 8, 1916, 11/6.

20. New Era, 315-16; for Strong's views on the conversion of the Jews and Catholics see Challenge of City, 228-9 and Grose, Aliens or Americans?, 13. In the introduction to Grose, Aliens or Americans?, Strong wrote of a Jewish immigrant's wish, upon becoming a citizen of the United States, to be of service to his fellow Americans in return for the free public school education he had received. Strong commented, "These are the words of a Russian Jew; and that Russian is a better American, that Jew is a better Christian, than many a descendant of the Pilgrim Fathers."

a God immanent in man gradually accomplishing the realization of the Kingdom and in the perfectibility of man and society reflected the evolutionary theory. He believed that the world's history had been an evolutionary preparation for the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race. He taught, however, that such superiority brought with it opportunities and obligations toward inferior races rather than any right of domination.[21] In the economic sphere he believed that the law of survival of the fittest working through competition would lead to the next stage of economic development, and the desired stage, cooperation. He also rejected all plans for sudden or revolutionary change in the economic or social system. He did not fear change in itself, but believed that progress had to be in harmony with the laws of society, among which that of evolution was basic. He called his position "progressive conservatism."

Confidence in science as God's revelation, making known to man His methods and laws for the universe and society, increased Strong's religious optimism concerning man's position as a co-laborer with God for the realization of the Kingdom. His continual reference to the laws of love, service and sacrifice, the law of unity in diversity, the law of pleasure and the law of city growth, among others, was in keeping with the tendency of the period to reduce social behavior to laws.

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21. For a discussion of the influence of Darwinism on Strong's thought see Richard Hofstadter, Social Darwinism in American Thought 1860-1915 (Philadelphia, 1944), 153-4.

The pragmatic and utilitarian attitudes of the time were reflected in his belief that absolute spiritual truths had no meaning apart from social action.

Strong was politically in sympathy with the progressive thought of his generation in its support of the American capitalistic system, in its realization of the need of increasing the regulatory power of government and in its enthusiasm regarding the leadership and responsibility of the United States as a world power. In many ways Strong's thinking was similar to that of Theodore Roosevelt. Strong and Roosevelt were personal friends and on various occasions while Governor and President, Roosevelt expressed interest in and enthusiasm for the programs and work of Strong's League for Social Service. Both men held a middle-of-the-road philosophy and advocated immediate social reforms as a means of avoiding a drastic revolution. Strong believed that combination and organization were essential characteristics of the new industrial society and that the trust form of business organization was an inevitable step in the evolution of industry. He saw no threat in the mere size of industrial combinations, provided they were not monopolistic in practice. Trusts would be a "great blessing to humanity," if they had as their object "the best service for all at the least cost."[22] Trusts were here to stay, he

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22. S.S., 2:7 (July'00), editorial by Strong; 4:218 (Dec.'01), editorial by Strong; 5:26-7 (Jan.'02), editorial by Strong.

maintained, and the government might better seek to correct their incidental evils than to prevent their organization. In this he not only expressed a point of view similar to that of Roosevelt, but also, as in connection with his use of the "alliance" type of organization showed his identification with the "organizational revolution" of the late nineteenth century.

The need of recognizing world responsibility, a new internationalism, was also one of the basic themes of Strong's thought. His concern for the countries of Asia was based on a two-fold aim: 1) a sincere desire to help them avoid the mistakes of the United States in realizing their industrial development; and 2) the determination to prevent their domination by the Slavic civilization of Russia, an eventuality which he believed would for generations retard the coming of the Kingdom. His association with efforts for international arbitration and the creation of a world federation show him to have been in sympathy with the ideals of progressivism in the international sphere. As early as 1900, in Expansion Under New World-Conditions, he wrote that economic, political and social conditions in one area of the world affect other areas and that as local interests "become world interests," one might expect the world powers to "assume responsibility for the world's order."[23] Alluding to investments in Latin

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[23] Expansion, 234 and Christianity Practically Applied, 1:254. For a discussion of Strong, Roosevelt and Mahan see Gabriel, Course of American Democratic Thought, chapter 26, "The 'Mission of America' In The Progressive Era."

America, he warned that the "so-called republics" in that part of the world could not amuse themselves with a revolution "every fine day" and he proposed the use of a police force with a function similar to that of local police to preserve the necessary order under the new world-conditions.[24] The Roosevelt Corollary of 1904 was based on the same reasoning with, however, a basic difference. Strong's views of a new world-policy, which was rooted in a new world-conscience, were an essential part of his Kingdom idea and social gospel philosophy, with their emphasis upon social duties. The Roosevelt Corollary, in formulation and in practice, was more specifically motivated by aggressive nationalism.

In politics, Strong was not a party man, but rather voted the ticket which conformed most closely to his ideals. According to his daughter, he voted for Garfield, the Republican candidate, in 1880. For a time, he identified himself with the mugwump reform group. How he voted in the election of 1900 is not known, but his views on retaining the Philippines were similar to those expressed by McKinley and he made repeated statements of trust in McKinley as a sincere Christian. According to his daughter, Elsie Strong, Strong usually voted the Prohibition ticket as an expression of his dissatisfaction with the national parties; however, he explained that he would never have done so if there had been a possibility that the Prohibition candidate would have been elected. In the election of 1912, he was unable to vote because of absence from the city, but he is known to have supported Woodrow Wilson whom he introduced to a church group in New York City as "the future President of the United States," -- and this despite his friendship with Theodore Roosevelt for many years.[25]

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[24] Expansion, 246, 279-282, 275, 241.

The progressive philosophy of Josiah Strong was tempered with a quality of balance. It was evangelistic in its emphasis on overcoming personal sin rooted in selfishness; and it was social in its demand that religious faith be manifested in man's social relations. It was progressive in its confidence that change, itself, in any field was not to be feared; and it was conservative in its insistence that change to be valid had to be built on the experience of the past. It was visionary in its dream of a utopia, the Kingdom on earth; and it was realistic in recognizing the frailty of man as he existed in the twentieth century and in his belief that the Kingdom could not be realized instantly, thus making reforms, though perhaps imperfect, nevertheless necessary. It was optimistic in its belief in continual progress and the perfectibility of man and society; yet this optimism was qualified by his awareness that man had the power to hasten or retard his progress. It was idealistic in its faith in eternal truths; yet it was pragmatic in its requirement that such absolute principles be made real in everyday life. Strong referred to his religion

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25. The material regarding Strong's political affiliation is based on conversations with Elsie Strong in Tryon, North Carolina, April, 1955.

and philosophy as one of "practical idealism"; and the "practical idealism" of his religion and philosophy harmonized with the "progressive conservatism" of his social and economic views.

Although Josiah Strong's writings and organizational activity suggest the depth of his thought, and the sincerity of his idealistic zeal, they do not suggest as much as they might other salient features of his personality--his warmth, his friendliness and the kindliness of his character. Strong was a tall, vigorous man of great dignity and commanding presence and yet, according to his contemporaries, "ever the most gentle, approachable and lovable of men."[26] His bearing was indicative of his strength and courage of character. His calm, persuasive voice attested to his gentle, unassuming nature. He considered among his closest friends in his early years Washington Gladden, Richard T. Ely, John R. Commons, Walter Rauschenbusch and Graham Taylor and added to his friendships during his years in New York Charles H. Parkhurst, Washington Choate, Richard Watson Gilder, James H. Ecob and Daniel E. Lorenz.

Firm in his convictions and certain of the perfectibility of man, Strong nevertheless possessed humility with respect to his own imperfections. Discussing his personal faith in 1910 in My Religion in Everyday Life, he wrote:

> It goes without saying that I have my infirmities and weaknesses. But I can say much worse than that

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[26] Tribute by James H. Ecob to Strong, Gos. of K., 8:81 (May '16).

> against myself, for infirmities and weaknesses are not sins. My sins are needless and I am to blame for them, and much more to blame, I think, than most people, because I believe that I have more help to resist sin than most people. But I am at peace with no sin, and at war with no duty, so that my religion gives me the assurance of forgiveness and the sense of peace.[27]

One of these imperfections, which he recognized, was his quick temper, which from his youth he sought to conquer and which he did succeed in mastering through continual effort.

Although Strong was dedicated to his work, he was devoted to his wife, the former Alice Bisbee, and his children, Margery, Elsie, Howard and his baby daughter who died on his journey back to Ohio from Cheyenne. His wife was a close and constant companion and help to him throughout his life from the first days of his ministry in Cheyenne to the last days of his work at the Institute. Possessed of a remarkable penetration and ability to estimate character, she often countered her husband's tendency to accept men at their face value out of his belief that they were as disinterested as he himself. Mrs. Strong was also a stabilizing influence in the matter of household economics, for, although the family was never in need, Strong minimized the importance of family financial affairs. Her willingness to support his life work is, however, revealed in the fact that after many years of saving to pay a loan on the family home in Greenwich, Connecticut,

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[27] My Religion, 60; see also Times and Men, 18.

Josiah Strong and his granddaughter,
the summer of 1911

it was again mortgaged in 1904 to provide the funds for the publication of Strong's Social Progress. In later years, when the Institute lacked money, Strong had to accept speaking engagements and fill pulpits to provide for family living expenses. An indication of his devotion to his wife, as well as of their common support of progressive causes, was the fact that when Mrs. Strong sought someone to assist her in supporting the Wyoming banner in a suffragette parade in New York City in May, 1912, Strong marched along at her side.[28]

He was a loving father and one strongly attached to his home. He found pleasure in playing games with his children and reading to them during their childhood. When his children grew older, he read aloud to them Le Conte's Evolution. Its Nature. Its Tendencies and Its Relation to Religious Thought and such works of Fiske as The Destiny of Man Viewed in the Light of His Origin and The Idea of God as Affected by Modern Knowledge. The family discussed together the theory of evolution. He was so determined that his daughters should make a trip to the Holy Land, similar to the one he had made in 1902, that he accepted lecture appointments to raise the needed money. In his last years, his daughter, Elsie, assisted him with his work at the Institute. It was to her that he dedicated his last book. Strong did most of his writing at home.

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28. The material regarding Strong's family life is based on conversations with Elsie Strong in Tryon, North Carolina, April, 1955.

His study on the upper floor of his home in Greenwich faced Long Island Sound and, with his characteristically warm sense of humor, he was fond of saying that from there he had "a sound view."

Strong was an intensely human man, alive to all life about him. He loved music, art and the world of nature. He was an accomplished flutist, played the piano and enjoyed singing hymns and college songs. His favorite hymns were Washington Gladden's "Oh Master Let Me Walk with Thee," Frank Mason North's "Where Cross the Crowded Ways of Life" and, above all, John Mason Neale's "Art Thou Weary, Art Thou Languid." His pencil drawings had the quality of engravings in their minute detail, depth of tone and refined finish and "could easily have won /him/ recognition as an artist."[29] Strong believed that his partial color-blindness gave him a greater perception of form and shading. He liked Heinrich Hofmann's "Christ and the Woman" for the strength and manliness in the representation of the face of Christ.

Josiah Strong's life truly exemplified the social teachings of Jesus which to so many readers he had elucidated through his writings. He was consumed with love of God and with the desire to know His will and to follow it through personal self-sacrifice and service to man. His life and work,

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[29] Tribute by Ecob, Gos. of K., 8:82 (May'16). Strong sketched with his left hand and wrote with his right.

Josiah Strong's home in Greenwich, Connecticut therefore, were one of dedication, untiring zeal, enthusiasm, optimism, self-sacrifice and courage. He lived in complete faith in divine Providence and in the conviction of divine guidance to those who sought to do God's will. His favorite Bible passage emphasized divine guidance: "If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself." (John 7:17). Every decision with regard to his career in the ministry was made in the light of what he considered to be the will of God. This was true of his acceptance of the call to the Vine Street Church in Cincinnati, as of his assumption of the position with the Evangelical Alliance. Strong's personal interests, financial and otherwise, always had a secondary place. Strong truthfully could write from personal experience that those who really chose "the service of others" rather than their own success or "self-realization or happiness," learned "at length with glad surprise that by the deep and wondrous laws of spiritual life, in sacrificing all" they had "gained all."[30]

Like Washington Gladden, Strong will be remembered among the leaders of American social Christianity as a pioneer in arousing the church to its social mission. By the nature of his "evangelical strength and standing," as Graham Taylor wrote, Strong "helped the church to recognize social Christianity as orthodox."[31] He was also among the few leaders of the church who early recognized the significance of the city for the future of the church, the nation and civilization itself and showed the church the methods of meeting the challenge. He believed that arousing the popular conscience and educating public opinion were two basic essentials necessary for any effective program of reform and he founded the League for Social Service and the American Institute of Social Service to meet that need. The American Institute of Social Service in the United States outlived its founder by only a few years; it, nevertheless, was a vital force from 1898 to 1916 in educating and directing the factory owner, the worker, the clergyman, the church member, the politician and the statesman to social responsibility at home and abroad. Although Strong has generally been remembered for the influence of his writings in rationalizing imperialism, he ought more properly to be remembered for making articulate many of the aspirations of progressivism on the national and international level.

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[30] Times and Men, 135-6, 76; see also 20C City, 150 and Challenge of City, 191-2.

Some might criticize Strong as impractical in the vast number of services which he sought through his one organization to perform, especially in view of the continuing lack of funds. Yet Strong believed that all these services were immediately needed for the salvation of society. For example, in 1915, when making plans for the training of Christian workers overseas, he admitted that the funds were lacking, but he believed that the work had to be started despite these practical considerations. In his opinion, many of the projects which he had proposed, but had not been able to set up because of lack of money, had suffered from being started by other agencies and carried on with less efficiency and with only partial understanding of the nature and spirit of the work. Strong saw the need. Should he be called "impractical" because he sought to establish agencies for meeting that need immediately rather than patiently waiting for others to awaken? Which of the vitally needed projects should he have refrained from setting in motion? Should he have established a priority among reforms? Unity was a key word in his thinking--unity of all life, unity of society, unity of the world. Reformers erred, he asserted, because they saw one reform as the cure of all social ills. He believed that progress meant gradual betterment in all fields, not rapid improvement in one to the neglect of the others. In the last years of the Institute, although funds were lacking, he refused to abandon it. The history of the Institute was indeed, as John Haynes Holmes has written, "the record of his life work" and, likewise, the expression of his social Christianity.

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[31] Graham Taylor to Howard Strong, May 3, 1916, in E. Strong Collection; see also Sanford, Origin of Federal Council, 335.

Tributes written at the time of his death indicate the place of Josiah Strong among his fellow workers in the cause of social Christianity. According to the editor of the Homiletic Review, Strong was one of the few men of his time "whose vision and insight made him keenly sensitive to the significance of the great world-movements; and one of the few men to whom the social message of the Gospel was a passion."[32] The Reverend S. Parkes Cadman wrote that Strong was held in highest affection and esteem "by all Christian believers and Christian workers who knew him."[33] Walter Rauschenbusch wrote:

> I truly think there are not many men who are so wholly deserving of honor as Josiah Strong.
>
> God gave him a vision early in life, a vision that has come to others tardier and darklier than to him, and he has been faithful to the revelation and the call of his God to the end.
>
> This made his life wonderfully fertile in fine and wise undertakings. It stimulated his intellect, so that his addresses and books have been among the most constructive influences of our Christian life.
>
> Most reformers speak in strident tones. Josiah Strong was always kind, persuasive, gentle, even when his message was stern and revolutionary, a sure proof that he had kept his heart under the discipline of his Master.
>
> I shall treasure the memory of him as long as

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32. Homiletic Review, 71:457 (June, 1916), editorial. The editor praised Strong as a man of "gentle, genial and genuine" nature who had worked "untiringly and unselfishly for a noble ideal."

33. S. Parkes Cadman to Howard Strong, May 3, 1916, in E. Strong Collection.

I live.[34]

In later years, John Haynes Holmes paid tribute to Strong's "abundant sanity, ripe scholarship. unfailing good nature, and unshakeable confidence in his fellow men."[35]

Josiah Strong was a great religious leader of the church in the new industrial America, a prophet of the twentieth-century city, a seer who had a vision of world-life and of the Kingdom on earth; and, above all, a believer, God-centered in thought, who labored through personal and practical effort to "help bring heaven to earth."

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[34] Walter Rauschenbusch to Howard Strong, May 5, 1916, in E. Strong Collection; other letters of tribute included in this collection are from Henry C. King, Lyman Abbott, Graham Taylor, Washington Gladden, Edward A. Ross, Robert A. Woods and Owen R. Lovejoy. The New York Times,May 8, 1916, reported that a letter of tribute was also read from Theodore Roosevelt. For discussion of the association of Strong and Rauschenbusch in the Brotherhood of the Kingdom see Dores Robinson Sharpe, Walter Rauschenbusch (New York, 1942), 11, 125, 284, and Charles H. Hopkins, "Walter Rauschenbusch and the Brotherhood of the Kingdom," Church History, 7:142 (June, 1938).

[35] Holmes, "Josiah Strong," Dictionary of American Biography, 18:151.

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